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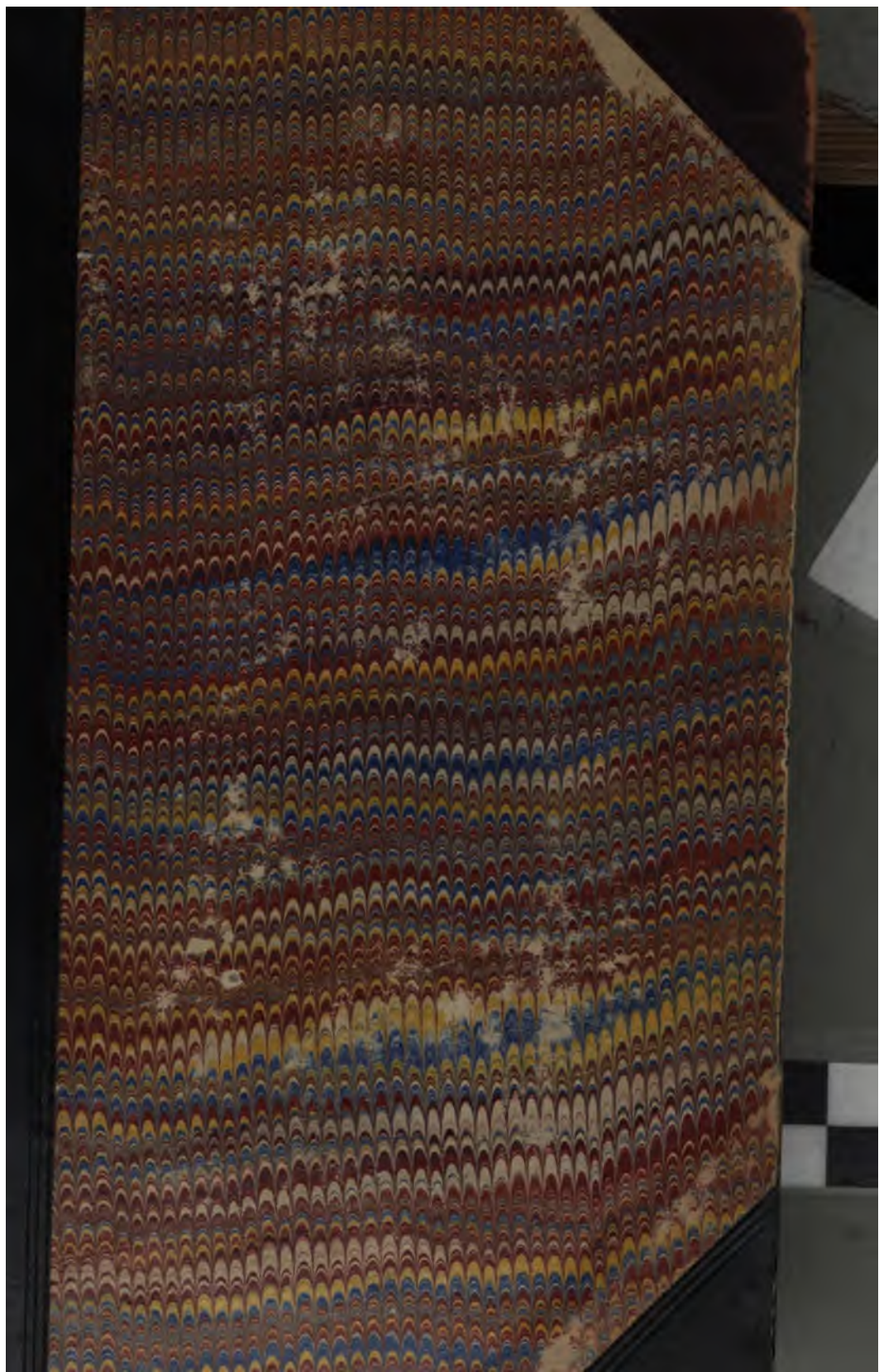
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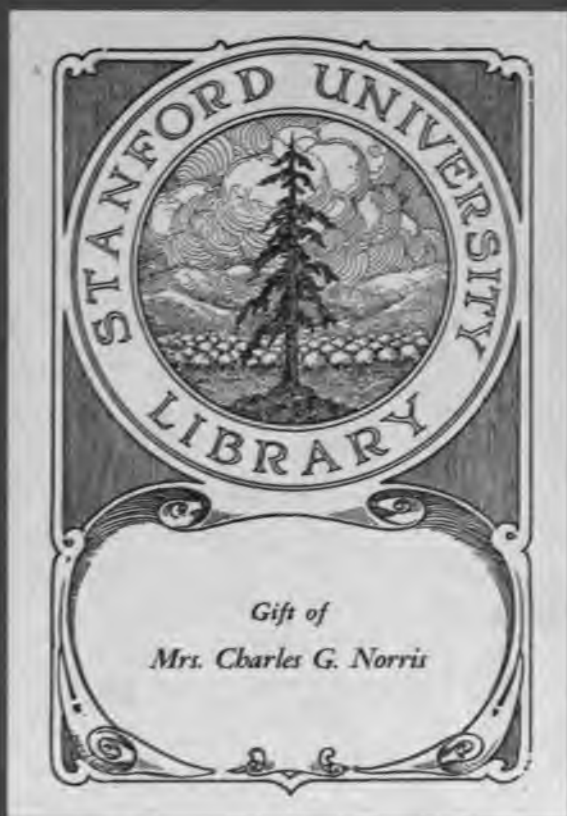
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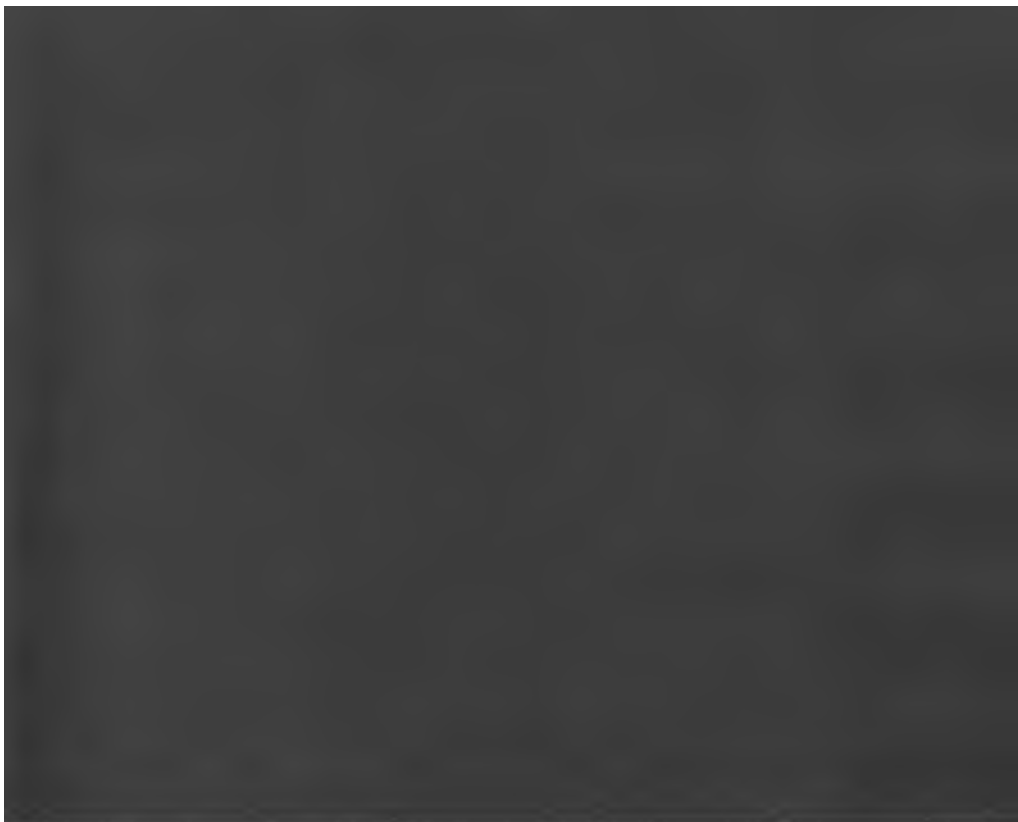
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Engraved by H. Kelson.

KING CHARLES THE FIRST.

OB. 1648.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF VAN DYKE, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^{OR} THE EARL OF PEMBROKE.

THE
COURT AND TIMES
OF
CHARLES THE FIRST;

ILLUSTRATED BY

AUTHENTIC AND CONFIDENTIAL LETTERS,
FROM VARIOUS PUBLIC AND PRIVATE COLLECTIONS;

INCLUDING

MEMOIRS OF THE MISSION IN ENGLAND

OF THE

CAPUCHIN FRIARS

IN THE SERVICE OF QUEEN HENRIETTA MARIA.

BY FATHER CYPRIEN DE GAMACHE,

CAPUCHIN PREACHER AND MISSIONARY TO THE QUEEN.

EDITED,

WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES,

BY THE AUTHOR OF

“MEMOIRS OF SOPHIA DOROTHEA, CONSORT OF GEORGE I.,”

“THE COURT AND TIMES OF JAMES I.,” ETC.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

HENRY COLBURN, PUBLISHER,

GREAT MARLBOROUGH STREET.

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F. Shoberl, Jun , Printer to H.R.H Prince Albert, 51. Rupert Street, Haymarket.

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INTRODUCTION.

The present series of letters form a sequel to the Correspondence recently published under the title of "The Court and Times of James I.;" much the greater portion proceeding from the same influential and well-informed authorities, and consisting of intelligence respecting all transactions of importance at home and abroad; particularly detailing the movements of the great men of the Court and Parliament in England, and the aspect of affairs in those portions of Europe in which Englishmen then felt the most interest. And the reign of the first Charles comprised a time of singular importance in the history of this country and of the surrounding nations. Commencing with the young King's possession of the reins of government under the auspices of the associate of his Spanish frolic, the thoughtless, reckless, trifling Duke of Buckingham, we are made acquainted with the circumstances under which he united himself with Henrietta Maria, and the causes of their early differences. We next trace him, through the several stages of the war with France, under the military direction of the Favourite, till the national disgrace at the Isle of Rhé was revenged by the knife of Felton, and the poor Huguenots of Rochelle, whom he had stimulated into

rebellion, were abandoned to the fury of their Catholic conquerors. From humiliations abroad we are led to misgovernment at home. Charles inherited the spirit of favouritism which had filled the nation with discontent in his father's reign. He sought to place himself above the good opinion of his subjects in a manner the most offensive. The more completely Buckingham established his incompetence, both as a statesman and as a commander, the more publicly the King exhibited his confidence in him. While the country was smarting under an intolerable dishonour produced by his want of military capacity, and the people were drained of their resources, which he was allowed to squander in the most trifling and insensate way, the King set the public discontent at defiance, by showing him additional demonstrations of favour. The people expressed their dissatisfaction through their representatives in Parliament. At first, the only notice taken of this was by acts of vengeance upon such members as ventured to speak the popular voice: but as this, far from silencing the voice, appeared to give it increased strength and loudness, the King intemperately dissolved Parliament, and punished the bold speakers with fine and imprisonment. Then came the illegal shifts and expedients to raise funds for carrying on the government without a Parliament, which failing, and increasing the public discontent, the Legislature was at last called in the usual way: and, partly by cajolery, partly by menaces, an attempt was made to induce the members to submit to the King's direction: but there were men who now took prominent parts in the deliberations of the Parliament

who could not be cajoled and would not be menaced. A patriotic party of able and determined men made their appearance, whose progress the reader is enabled to trace in the following pages with singular exactness. He may mark the rise to eminence of Selden, Cotton, Elliott, Denzil Holles, Valentine, Stroud, Hobart, Long, St. John, and the other leaders of the great movement, which the King's misgovernment was developing: but, though the signs of the times should have warned Charles to pause in his career, he so frequently replied to remonstrance with acts of despotism, that, when he did accede to the demands of his people, the concession failed to remove the unfavourable impression he had previously created. He again threw off all restraint, and once more sought to rule according to his own pleasure—through Star Chamber persecutions, forced loans, illegal impositions, and exactions that plundered the subject without caring for any other limit than the necessities of the crown. Then came John Hampden's moral force resistance to ship-money—the gradual alienation of the hearts of the people of England from their sovereign, displayed, at first, in their detestation of the royal favourites, Strafford and Laud, for carrying out the arbitrary inclinations of their royal master, but, in course of time, assuming a determination which the increasing culpability of the greater criminal forced them to exercise.

It is scarcely possible for any one who reads the accounts here given, written at the time from the best sources of information, to find an excuse for the King. By mismanagement of his revenues, he had placed himself in a position analogous to that of a dishonest

trader, who is content to carry on an appearance of trade, by availing himself of those resources of fictitious credit by which the more honest and confiding are made to suffer, till the fraud becomes exposed and a bankruptcy inevitable. It is as necessary that Majesty should have honest dealings with the subject, as the humblest chapman with his customer. The Crown should conduct its transactions in the same honourable spirit that characterises every commercial establishment anxious to maintain a fair name and good repute. But it seemed the opinion of Charles the First, and apparently of all the Stuarts, that laws were not made *for* them, but *by* them—that honour and honesty could be dispensed with at any period their influence over royalty might be inconvenient—that the property, liberties, and lives of the people were at the disposal of the King at all times, when they could be rendered available for his profit or pleasure—and that the King was elevated so much above ordinary liabilities and ordinary principles, that no responsibility could reach, nor any discredit apply to him, either as a monarch or a man.

Those impressions of the opinions of Charles will alone enable us to account for his conduct throughout his entire reign. There may be doubts about the propriety of the severe punishment with which such conduct was ultimately visited, though such a penalty no private man, acting with the same disregard of the law, could have escaped: but the advantage of the example thus produced it is impossible too highly to estimate; and Englishmen ought to welcome, with peculiar gratification, any contribution to their knowledge of a period in which the rights they now enjoy were, after a struggle,

begun by a few resolute spirits, against an absolute and irresponsible power, established on a basis that can never be disturbed. In illustration of the text, brief notes constitute all the information that can be afforded in such a work as this, respecting these patriotic men: but more copious accounts of them are easily available. The student cannot do better than refer to Mr. Forster's admirable series of biographies of the Statesmen of the Commonwealth; and to Mr. Carlyle's invaluable collection of the "Letters and Dispatches of Oliver Cromwell."

This Correspondence, whilst affording the most copious information on affairs of State, draws quite as liberally, as in the preceding volumes, on affairs, which, if less important, are certainly not less interesting. We allude to the details of the private lives of the many distinguished persons whose names figure in almost every page of the work. With many curious revelations of Court manners, will be found several quaint pictures of social morals in Court and City, that are likely to startle the proprieties of the present century. We allude to the cases of the Earl of Castlehaven, Sir Giles Allington, and Lady Purbeck. The reader will meet with numerous memoranda, scattered throughout the work, illustrative of many subjects of general interest, literary, domestic, commercial, political, religious, and fashionable: indeed, these being letters of news, possess a variety not to be found in any series of historical letters hitherto published. Their value has been acknowledged by several able writers: the elder D'Israeli having frequently availed himself of their revelations in his "Commen-

taries on the Life and Reign of Charles I.;" Dr. Lingard, in his "History of England," having also referred to them; and other historians have had recourse to their statements whenever necessary.

The frequent reference, in these communications, to what was passing abroad shows the great desire felt in this country for intelligence respecting the important events then occupying the attention of Europe. In France, Cardinal Richelieu was working out that policy which made his name so famous at the expense of his country. In Spain, Philip IV. was at one time struggling to rival France as a Catholic power; at another, entertaining serious intentions, in combination with France, of entering into a Catholic war against Protestant England. In Rome, though Urban VIII. was organizing a religious re-action throughout the States of Europe against the influence of the Reformation, he was finally obliged to support the Protestant King of Sweden against the Catholic Court of Austria. But Germany was the grand theatre of the age, and worthy of the occasion were the actors who graced it. They embraced Gustavus Adolphus, Tilly, Wallenstein, and the Piccolomini, with innumerable "eminent tragedians" of less celebrity; and they played out the great Drama entrusted to them with marvellous effect. England formed the most interested portion of the audience: inasmuch as one object of the German movement was the re-establishment in power of their King's brother, the fugitive King of Bohemia; and another, the struggle for existence of the Protestant principle against a Catholic crusade for its extermination, of which the Emperor was at the head.

The work concludes with an original memoir of the times, by an observer of totally different sentiments to those who preceded him. He was one of those active missionaries that the Papal Power was sending, at this eventful period, in swarms, far and near, for the purpose of gaining back those strongholds which had been won by Luther and his associates of the reformed religion. There had been Jesuits in shoals, and Franciscans in hordes, and various other societies, lay and clerical, whose bond of brotherhood was hatred of heresy. The Capuchins, a community of Friars vowed to poverty, had been instituted as a new Order, and sent to make a stand in France against the encroachments of the Huguenots. Their zeal in the service of the Romish Church was so strikingly manifested, and the advantage of such missions made so evident, that they were so rapidly multiplied, few of the provinces of France were left without them. At court, they obtained such high repute, that a certain number were selected to attend the Princess Henrietta Maria, on her marriage with Charles I., for the service of her chapel in England. This was an admirable opportunity for increasing the force of Catholic missionaries in so heretic a country, of which the Pontiff gladly availed himself: and there can be little question that the real object of the Capuchins was an attack upon Protestantism, to which the good Fathers presently directed themselves with such animation, that it drew upon them more attention than they desired, and involved their royal mistress in disputes, which brought on the forcible expulsion of her Catholic domestics and the deprivation of nearly all her priests. After some time, the friars were allowed to return to their religious

duties: but their zeal was unabated. Though harmless as doves, they were cunning as serpents; striving, in numberless circuitous ways, to attack the religion of the State which sheltered them, and daily increasing the ill feeling with which the more rigid Protestants had regarded their Catholic Queen. Father Cyprien de Gamache is the historian of his mission; and, if the reader cannot always allow himself to be carried with him by the enthusiasm with which he describes its proceedings, he can as little help entertaining a sentiment of respect for that devotion to its objects displayed by the men of whom it was composed. To Father Cyprien we are also indebted for many interesting particulars respecting the royal family, both before and subsequently to the execution of Charles, and also respecting several distinguished persons who remained with them after their exile. His account of the escape from the custody of the Parliament of the Duke of York in the disguise of a girl, and that of the infant princess as a beggar's brat, in the custody of the Countess of Morton, clothed in rags, and disfigured with a hump, will be found amongst the most curious passages in these curious Memoirs. Combined with the preceding Correspondence, they afford the historical student much additional knowledge of England in the first half of the seventeenth century; and, although the Editor can lay claim to no merit in placing such materials before him, he trusts his refraining from any assumption of learned scholarship, in the slight illustrations he has thought it his duty to add to the text, may not prejudice the work in the opinion of those who may be better qualified to do it justice.

AMONG THE ILLUSTRIOUS AND CELEBRATED PERSONAGES OF
WHOM ANECDOTES AND PARTICULARS ARE GIVEN IN THIS
WORK, ARE THE FOLLOWING :—

- | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Abbot, Sir Maurice. | Bayning, Sir Paul. |
| Alexander, Sir William. | Becher, Sir William. |
| Allington, Sir Giles. | Bedford, Earl of. |
| Andover, Lord. | Bellegarde, Duke of. |
| Anglesea, Earl of. | Bennet, Sir John. |
| Angoulême, Duke of. | Berkeley, Lord George. |
| Anhalt, Count of. | Berkshire, Earl of. |
| Anjou, Duke of. | Bertie, Sir Peregrine. |
| Anstruther, Sir Robert. | Berule, Cardinal. |
| Apsley, Lady. | Beuse, Monsieur de. |
| Apsley, Sir Allen. | Bingley, Sir R. |
| Apsley, Sir John. | Blundell, Sir George. |
| Argyle, Earl of. | Bohemia, King of. |
| Arundel, Earl of. | Bohemia, Prince of. |
| Ashburnham, Lady. | Bohemia, Queen of. (Sister of |
| Ashley, Sir Anthony. | Charles I.) |
| Ashley, Sir Francis. | Bolingbroke, Earl of. |
| Astley, Sir Jacob. | Boswell, Sir David. |
| Aston, Sir Walter. | Boteler, Sir John. |
| Austria, Emperor of. | Bouillon, Duc de. |
| Aylesbury, Sir Thomas. | Bourchier, Sir Henry. |
| | Boyd, Sir Andrew. |
| Baden, Duke of. | Brandenburg, Elector of. |
| Bagg, Sir James. | Brett, Sir Alexander. |
| Balfour, Sir William. | Bridgewater, Earl of. |
| Baltimore, Lord. | Bristol, Bishop of. |
| Banbury, Earl of. | Bristol, Earl of. |
| Bangor, Bishop of. | Brooke, Lord. |
| Bankes, Sir John. | Brooke, Sir Robert. |
| Bannier, General. | Bruce, Lord. |
| Barclay, Sir John. | Bruce, Sir Francis. |
| Barnham, Sir Francis. | Brudenell, Sir Thomas. |
| Barrett, Sir Edward. | Buckingham, Duke of. |
| Barrington, Sir Francis. | Buckingham, Duchess of. |
| Barrow, Sir John. | Buckingham, Countess of. |
| Bassompierre, Marshal. | Burgh, Lord. |
| Batten, Sir Thomas. | Burghersh, Lord. |
| Bavaria, Duke of. | Burton, Henry. |

- Button, Sir Thomas.
 Cage, Sir John.
 Calvert, Sir George.
 Canterbury, Archbishop of.
 Capel, Sir Arthur.
 Carew, Sir Francis.
 Carey, Sir Robert.
 Carleton, Sir Dudley.
 Carlisle, Countess of.
 Carlisle, Lord.
 Carnarvon, Earl of.
 Carr, Sir Robert.
 Cary, Lady.
 Cassill, Sir John.
 Castlehaven, Earl of.
 Catesby, George, Esq.
 Cecil, Lord.
 Cecil, Sir Edward.
 Charles II., King.
 Châteauneuf, M. de.
 Chauncy, Sir William.
 Chester, Bishop of.
 Chevreuse, Duc de.
 Chevreuse, Madame de.
 Claneboy, Lord.
 Clare, Earl of.
 Clare, Sir Ralph.
 Cleveland, Lord.
 Coke, Sir Edward.
 Coke, Sir John.
 Coke, Lord.
 Coleraine, Lord.
 Colonna, Don Carlos de.
 Conde, Prince of.
 Conway, Lord.
 Corbet, Sir John.
 Cordova, Don Gonzales de.
 Cork, Earl of.
 Cornwallis, Sir Frederick.
 Cottingham, Sir Francis.
 Cotton, Sir Francis.
 Cotton, Sir Robert.
 Cottington, Sir Francis.
 Courteen, Sir William.
 Courteney, Sir William.
 Coventry, Sir Thomas.
 Craven, Lord.
 Crequi, Marshal.
 Crew, Sir Randolph.
 Crofts, Sir William.
 Crook, Sir George.
 Crook, Judge.
 Crosby, Sir Piers.
 Crow, Sir Sackville.
 Cunningham, Sir William.
 Curtius, Sir William.
 Danby, Earl of.
 Darmstadt, Landgrave of.
 Darnell, Sir Thomas.
 Davenport, Sir Humphrey.
 Davers, Lord.
 Davis, Sir John.
 Davis, Lady.
 Dee, Dr.
 De la Force, Marshal.
 Delawar, Lord.
 Denbigh, Countess of.
 Denbigh, Earl of.
 Denmark, King of.
 D'Epéron, the Duke.
 Derby, Earl of.
 Desmond, Earl of.
 D'Estrees, Marshal.
 Devon, Earl of.
 Devon, Countess of.
 D'Ewes, Sir Simonds.
 Digby, Lord.
 Digby, Sir Kenelm.
 Digges, Sir Dudley.
 Dishington, Sir Thomas.
 Doddridge, Judge.
 Donne, Dr.
 Dorrington, Sir William.
 Dorset, Earl of.
 Douglas, Sir Archibald.
 Dover, Countess of.
 Dryden, Sir Erasmus.
 Dryden, Sir John.
 Dudley, Sir Robert.
 Durham, Lord.

- | | |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Earle, Sir Walter. | Guise, Duke of. |
| Edmondson, Sir Thomas. | Halley, Sir Edward. |
| Elbœuf, Duke of. | Hambleton, Sir Edward. |
| Elliott, Sir John. | Hamilton, Marquis of. |
| Ely, Bishop of. | Hampden, Sir Edmund. |
| Epsley, Sir John. | Hanover, Electress (Sophia of). |
| Essex, Earl of. | Harris, Sir Arthur. |
| Exeter, Bishop of. | Harvey, Sir Cranmer. |
| Exeter, Countess of. | Harvey, Sir Simon. |
| Fairfax, Mr. | Hayman, Sir Peter. |
| Falkland, Lord. | Heath, Sir Robert. |
| Falkland, Lady. | Henrietta Anne, Princess. |
| Fane, Sir Henry. | Henrietta Maria, Queen. |
| Fanshaw, Sir Thomas. | Hepburn, Colonel. |
| Fanshawe, Lady. | Herbert, Lord. |
| Fauconberg, Lord. | Hervey, Lord. |
| Fielding, Lord. | Hesse, Landgrave of. |
| Fielding, Lady. | Heveningham, Sir John. |
| Finch, Sir Heneage. | Heyden, Sir William. |
| Finch, Sir John. | Hicks, Sir Baptist. |
| Fitzwalter, Lady. | Hitcham, Sir Robert. |
| Fleetwood, Sir George. | Hobart, Lord. |
| Foljambe, Sir Francis. | Hobart, Sir Miles. |
| Forster, Sir Humphrey. | Holderness, Lord. |
| Foulis, Sir David. | Holland, Lord. |
| France, King of, (May, 1631). | Holles, Denzil. |
| Franklin, Sir John. | Honeywood, Sir Robert. |
| Fullerton, Sir James. | Horne, Count Gustavus. |
| Gage, Sir Thomas. | Howard, Sir Charles. |
| Gerald, Sir Gilbert. | Howard, Sir William. |
| Gerard, Sir Thomas. | Howard, Sir Robert. |
| Glenham, Sir Thomas. | Hudson, Sir Geoffrey. |
| Gloucester, Bishop of. | Hungary, Palatine of. |
| Glover, Sir Thomas. | Hungate, Sir Henry. |
| Gore, Sir Michael. | Hunsdon, Lord. |
| Gore, Sir Thomas. | Huntingdon, Earl of. |
| Gorges, Sir Ferdinando. | Huntley, Marquis of. |
| Goring, Sir George. | Hyde, Sir Nicholas. |
| Grand Signor, the. | Imbercourt, Lord. |
| Grandison, Lord. | Jackson, Sir John. |
| Gray, Sir Andrew. | Jenkinson, Sir Thomas. |
| Grey, Lord. | Jermyn, Sir Thomas. |
| Grimstone, Sir Harbottle. | Jerret, Sir Gilbert. |
| Gronsfeld, Count. | |

- Jones, Inigo.
 Jones, Sir William.
 Jonson, Ben.
 Juxon, Bishop.

 Kelly, Lord.
 Kent, Earl and Countess of.
 Kingston, Earl of.
 Knollys, Sir Francis.

 Lake, Sir Thomas.
 Laud, Archbishop.
 Lawrence, Lady.
 Leicester, Earl of.
 Leicester, Countess of.
 Leigh, Lord.
 Lennox, Duke of.
 Lenthall, Sir John.
 Lenthropp, Sir Thomas.
 Lerma, Duke of.
 Ley, Sir Henry.
 Ley, Sir James.
 Lincoln, Bishop of.
 Lincoln, Earl of.
 Lindsey, Earl of.
 Littleton, Mr.
 Loftus, Sir Adam.
 London, Bishop of.
 Long, Mr.
 Long, Sir Walter.
 Lorraine, Duke of.
 Louis XIII., King.
 Love, Sir Thomas.
 Lucy, Sir Thomas.
 Luke, Sir River.
 Lunenburg, Duke of.
 Lyttleton, Lord.

 Mackey, Lord.
 Mainwaring, Dr.
 Maltravers, Lord.
 Mansell, Sir Robert.
 Mansfield, Count.
 Mantua, Duke of.
 Mar, Earl of.
 Mareuil, M. de Fontenay.
- Marlborough, Earl of.
 Martin, Sir Henry.
 Mary, Princess, (daughter of Charles I.)
 Mary de Medicis, Queen.
 Masham, Sir William.
 Maxey, Sir William.
 Maxwell, Lord.
 May, Sir Humphrey.
 Mechlin, Archbishop of.
 Mecklenburgh, Duke of.
 Medina, Duke of.
 Mervin, Sir Henry.
 Middlesex, Earl of.
 Mildmay, Sir Humphrey.
 Modena, Duke of.
 Monmouth, Earl of.
 Montagu, Bishop.
 Montbazon, Madame de.
 Montecuculi, General.
 Monteith, Earl of.
 Montgomery, Earl of.
 Montmorency, Duke of.
 Montpellier, Bishop of.
 Morgan, Sir Charles.
 Morton, Earl of.
 Mountjoy, Lord.
 Mountmorris, Lord.
 Mulgrave, Lord.
 Murray, Earl of.

 Nassau, Prince William of.
 Nassau, Count John de.
 Naunton, Sir Robert.
 Nethersole, Sir Francis.
 Nevers, Duke de.
 Neville, Sir Christopher.
 Newport, Earl of.
 Newton, Sir Adam.
 Noel, Baptist, Baron Noel, and Viscount Campden.
 Northumberland, Earl of.
 Norwich, Earl of.
 Noy, Mr.

 Ochiltree, Lord.

- Ogle, Sir John.
 Orange, the Prince of.
 Orleans, Gaston, Duke of (mentioned as "Monsieur.")
 Orleans, Philip, Duke of.
 Osborne, Sir Peter.
 Osborne, Sir Robert.
 Oxenstiern, Chancellor.
 Oxford, Countess of.
 Oxford, Earl of.

 Palatine, the Prince and Princess
 Palmer, Sir Henry.
 Pappenheim, Count.
 Parham, Sir Edward.
 Pelham, Sir Thomas.
 Pembroke, Earl of.
 Pennington, Sir John.
 Percy, Lord.
 Percy, Sir Joscelyne.
 Petre, Lord.
 Phillips, Sir Robert.
 Piccolomini, General.
 Pickering, Sir John.
 Pierrepoint, Lord.
 Pinelli, Prince.
 Poolie, Sir John.
 Porter, Endymion.
 Portland, Earl of.
 Poulet, Lord.
 Prynne, William.
 Puckering, Sir John.
 Purbeck, Lady.
 Puylaurens, Monsieur.
 Pye, Sir Robert.
 Pye, Sir Walter.
 Pym, Mr.

 Radzivil, Prince.
 Ragotski, Prince.
 Ramsay, Sir James.
 Rea, Lord.
 Reubens, Sir Peter Paul.
 Rich, Sir Charles.
 Rich, Sir Nathaniel.
 Rich, Sir Robert.

 Richardson, Sir Thomas.
 Richelieu, Cardinal.
 Richmond, Duchess of.
 Rivers, Earl.
 Rochester, Bishop of.
 Roe, Sir Thomas.
 Rohan, Duc de.
 Roxburgh, Earl of.
 Rudyard, Sir Benjamin.
 Russell, Lord.
 Russell, Sir William.
 Rutland, Earl of.

 Saint Albans, Viscount.
 Saint John, Sir Beauchamp.
 Saint Leger, Sir William.
 Salisbury, Earl of.
 Salter, Sir John.
 Saltonstone, Sir Richard.
 Sandys, Sir Edwin.
 Santa Cruz, Marquis of.
 Savage, Sir Arthur.
 Saville, Lord.
 Saville, Sir John.
 Savoy, Duke of.
 Savoy, Duchess of.
 Saxe Cobourg, Duke of.
 Saxony, Duke of.
 Saxony, Elector of.
 Say, Lord.
 Scaglia, the Abbat de.
 Schomberg, Marshal.
 Selden, Mr.
 Seymour, Sir Francis.
 Sheffield, Lord.
 Shirley, Sir Robert.
 Shrewsbury, Earl of.
 Slingby, Sir Guilford.
 Somerset, Earl of.
 Soabise, M. de.
 Southampton, Earl of.
 Spain, King of.
 Spain, Queen of.
 Spelman, Sir Henry.
 Spencer, Lord.
 Spencer, Sir Edward.

- Spense, Sir James.
 Spiller, Sir Henry.
 Spinola, Marquis.
 Spry, Sir Henry.
 Stanfield, Sir Lawrence.
 Stanhope, Lord.
 Stanley, Sir Francis.
 Stanley, Sir Robert.
 Steward, Sir Francis.
 Steward, Sir Simeon.
 Strange, Lord.
 Strangways, Sir John.
 Stroud, Mr.
 Suffolk, Earl of.
 Sussex, Earl of.
 Sweden, King of (Gustavus III.)
 Sweden, Queen of.

 Tanfield, Baron.
 Thorne, Count.
 Thoyras, M. de.
 Thurles, Lord.
 Thynne, Sir Thomas.
 Tiffenbach, General.
 Tillières, the Count.
 Tilly, General.
 Tonstall, Sir John.
 Totnes, Earl of.
 Trevor, Sir Thomas.
 Trevor, Sir Sackville.
 Tufton, Lord.

 Uladislaus, Prince of Poland.
 Urban VIII., Pope.
 Usher, Bishop.

 Valentia, Lord.
 Valentine, Mr.
 Vandenberg, Count Henry.
 Vane, Sir Henry.
 Vaux, Lord.
 Vendome, Duke of.
 Verdun, Bishop of.
 Vere, Lord.
 Vere, Sir Horace.

 Villiers, Sir Edward.
 Vitry, Marshal.

 Wake, Sir Isaac.
 Walden, Lord.
 Wallenstein, General Count.
 Wallingford, Viscount.
 Wallop, Sir Henry.
 Walton, Sir John.
 Warwick, Earl of.
 Watts, Sir John.
 Weimar, Duke of.
 Wentworth, Lord.
 Weston, Lord.
 Weston, Sir Richard.
 Wharton, Lady.
 Wharwood, Sir Thomas.
 White, Bishop.
 Whitelock, Judge.
 Wickham, Archdeacon.
 Williams, Sir Abraham.
 Willoughby, Lord.
 Willoughby D'Eresby, Lord.
 Wilmore, Sir William.
 Wilmot, Lord.
 Wimbledon, Lord.
 Winchester, Bishop of.
 Winchester, Marchioness of.
 Windebank, Sir Francis.
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THE
COURT AND TIMES
OF
CHARLES THE FIRST.

[The writer of the first letter in this collection was son and heir of Sir John Conway, who was made Governor of Ostend by the Earl of Leicester, in the year 1586, and having been early destined for the military profession, he commanded a regiment at the sacking of Cadiz in 1596, where he so greatly distinguished himself as to obtain the honour of knighthood from his commander, the Earl of Essex. He subsequently served in the Netherlands, where he held the appointment of Governor of the Brill. In the peaceful reign of James, he thought proper to embrace a civil career, and raised himself to the important post of one of the principal secretaries of state in the twentieth year of that monarch's reign, in which office he was confirmed by his successor, who further advanced him to the title of Viscount Killultagh, in the country of Antrim, in the Irish, and Viscount Conway, of Conway Castle, in the English peerage. Some time after this, he was raised to the post of president of the council, and also received the appointment of ambassador extraordinary to the court of Vienna. He married the relict of Edward Bray, Esq., Dorothy, daughter of Sir John Tracey, Knight of Lodington, in the county of Gloucester, by whom he had three sons and four daughters. He died in 1630.]

Sir Edward Conway to Sir Dudley Carleton.

Whitehall, 31 March, 1625.

Right honourable—Your lordship will largely perceive by this enclosed direction from his majesty, and by the

letters of credence to the States-General and to his Excellency the Prince of Orange, how God hath been pleased to take unto his mercy our late king, of glorious memory, and how plentifully, in his goodness, he hath restored to us our most gracious sovereign, that now reigneth. I will only tell you, to your comfort, that our blessed master, of glorious memory, went out of this world like a Christian that had a strong heart and an humble mind. Two days before God's act of receiving him to his mercy, he took God to him, by receiving of the communion; and at that did express a lively faith and the definition of a pure Christian, as (to give your lordship a touch) he concluded the verbal creed with these words—"There is no other belief, neither hope;" and when the lord keeper asked him whether he would have the absolution, he answered—"As it is practised in the English Church, I ever approved it; but, in the dark way of the Church of Rome, I do defy it." And this I tell you not by report, for I had the honour and comfort to receive it with him.¹

¹ Sir Dudley Carleton, to whom this letter is addressed, was one of the most eminent diplomatists and statesmen of the seventeenth century. He was the eldest surviving son of Anthony Carleton, of Baldwin Brightwell, in Oxfordshire, where he was born, on the 10th of March, 1573. He was a scholar of Westminster school, and a student of Christchurch, Oxford, where, in July, 1595, he took the degree of bachelor of arts, followed, five years later, by that of master of arts, having improved himself by a tour during the interval. In 1602 he was in France, as the secretary of Sir Thomas Parry, then ambassador at that court. Here, however, he did not remain long: for in the following year we find him filling the same office in the household of Henry Earl of Northumberland, and gaining the good will of other powerful noblemen, by whose influence he obtained a seat in the first parliament of King James, for a Cornish borough. He was much noticed by Viscount Cranbourne, afterwards Earl of Salisbury, and by Lord Norris, whom, in 1605, he accompanied into Spain, and was in Paris, on his return home, when the Gunpowder Plot was discovered, in which it was supposed he was implicated, through his connection with the Earl of Northumberland; for he received a summons from the Lords of the Council to embark immediately for England, and on his arrival was detained in custody till he established his innocence. For at least five years after this, he was not employed in any capacity; but attention having been drawn to his remarkable talent, he received the honour of knighthood, and the appointment of ambassador to the State of Venice, where he remained till 1615. Sir Dudley Carleton was then sent ambassador extraordinary to Emanuel Duke of Savoy, whose court, however, he left in about six months, and on his return home was nominated ambassador to the States-General of Holland, where he remained till the close of the year, in which this, Sir Edward Conway's first letter to him in the present collection, is dated. He had lately been appointed by James I., vice-chamberlain of the royal household, in which office he was confirmed by his successor, and was twice married, but left no issue. In 1628, Sir Dudley was elevated to the peerage by the title of Baron Carleton of Imbercourt, in the county of Surrey, and two years later became Viscount Dorchester, when he was raised to the post of secretary of state. He died in 1631.

Sir William Neve to Sir Thomas Hollonde.

April 5, 1625.

The king's [James I.] body was about the 29th of March disbowelled, and his heart was found to be great, but soft; his liver fresh as a young man's; one of his kidneys very good; but the other shrunk so little, as they could hardly find it, wherein there was two stones; his lights and gall black, (judged to proceed from melancholy;) the . . . of his head so strong, as they could hardly break it open with a chisel and a saw, and so full of brains, as they could not, upon the opening, keep them from spilling—a great mark of his infinite judgment. His bowels were presently put into a leaden vessel, and burned; his body embalmed, and remained there¹ until the 4th of April; it came from thence close, in a black velvet coach, and by torchlight, thereto being allowed three hundred dozen. Yesternight, between nine and ten of the clock, it was conveyed through Smithfield, Holborn, Chancery Lane, so to Denmark House, in this manner: first, the guards; secondly, the gentlemen esquires, knights, &c.; then pensioners; then trumpets; then heralds; then the body; then the lords in coaches, the Prince first, most of them meeting the body at Wood's Cross; then of others in coaches about a hundred and twenty, which would have been more, had not the weather been extreme.

The body was by the gentlemen of the bed-chamber carried into the withdrawing-chamber to the privy-chamber, wherein is an effigy to be laid on a bed of honour, and there exposed. The privy-chamber is also hanged with velvet, the presence-chamber with cloth, and the guard-chamber with baize. All state observed there by the servants, as if the king were living.

The king² kept privately his bed, or chamber, at St. James's until Sunday last, and then dined abroad, in the privy-chamber, being in a plain black cloth cloak to the ancle; and so went after dinner into the chapel, Dr. Donne preaching, Lord Davers³ carrying the sword before him,

¹ Theobalds.² Charles I.³ A member of a distinguished family, who obtained celebrity by ways somewhat opposite: one brother, Charles, forfeited his life, near the close of the reign of

his majesty looking very pale, his visage being the true glass of his inward, as well as his accoutrements of external mourning.

This day, about nine, he came privately through St. James's Park to Whitehall. He heard a sermon by Dr. . . . , and Lord Wentworth¹ carrying the sword before him: and on his coming from thence, all through the presence he went talking to my Lord Marshal, and after dined in the privy-chamber.

On Monday, the 28th of March, the Duke of Buckingham² lay in the king's bed-chamber, and three nights after in the next lodgings, and was the first sworn of his bed-chamber. But the duke growing ill, he was carried in his chair to his lodgings at Whitehall, on the 1st of April, where he is yet taking physic, and not well, but yet holds all his great places, as so do all others. Only God and the king knoweth the future changes.

Sir Humphrey May was sworn a privy councillor the 29th of March, and we have yet only talk of others, as Earl of Clare, Lords Grey,³ Russell,⁴ and others.

On Thursday, the last day of March, the lord keeper,⁵ the two chief justices, attorney and solicitor, took their oaths for their places.

Queen Elizabeth, for being implicated in the treasonable designs of Robert Earl of Essex; another, Henry, was one of the judges who condemned Charles I. to the block. The most distinguished, Henry, became a military adventurer of great reputation, under Maurice Prince of Orange, subsequently serving in the French armies, and obtaining from Henry IV. the honour of knighthood. On his return home, he was appointed lieutenant-general of the horse, and sergeant-major of the army in Ireland; and James I. further distinguished him by making him Lord President of Munster, Governor of Guernsey, and by raising him to the peerage by the title of Baron Danvers of Dantsey, in the county of Wilts. By King Charles he was created, February 5, 1626, Earl of Danby, was made a Knight of the Garter, and appointed of the Privy Council. Lord Danby was the founder of the Physic Garden at Oxford, and was considered one of the most gallant noblemen of his age. He died at the age of seventy-one, according to his epitaph, "full of honour, wounds, and days," at his lordship's seat, Cornbury Park, Oxford, on the 20th of January, 1643, and never having married, his barony and earldom became extinct.

¹ Thomas, fourth baron, afterwards Earl of Cleveland.

² George Villiers, the celebrated favourite of James I. and Charles I.

³ William Baron Grey, of Werke (February 11, 1624). He was elected Speaker for the House of Lords, in 1643, when the Lord Keeper Lyttleton ran away with the great seal to the king at Oxford. He married Anne, daughter and co-heir of Sir John Wentworth, of Gosfield, in Essex, by whom he had one son and two daughters. He died in 1674.

⁴ This family proved their devotion to Charles I. in the worst times: John, the third son of Francis, second Lord Russell, serving him as colonel of the first regiment of Foot Guards, which Charles II rewarded by decapitating his nephew.

⁵ Archbishop Williams.

Rev. Joseph Mead¹ to Sir Martin Stuteville.²

Christ College, April 9, 1625.

Our doctor's³ letter failed us on Saturday; and since, we have no letters but such as tell us there is no news stirring. My last relation of his majesty's sickness and death, though I hear not for the general contradicted, yet by some, many of the particulars are for circumstances diminished. I am told for certain that after Friday, at night, till the hour of his death, his tongue was swollen so big in his mouth, that either he could not speak at all, or not be understood. He desired, when he first understood that death was near him, to have received the communion at the hands of the Bishop of Winchester; but he was so sick when he was sent for that he could not come. He had three hours private talk with the prince [of Wales, Charles I.], all being commanded from him two or three rooms off, to be out of hearing.⁴ * * * *

The Countess of Buckingham, the Tuesday before he died, would needs make trial of some receipt she had approved; but being without the privy of the physicians, occasioned so much discontent in Dr. Craig, that he uttered some plain speeches, for which he was commanded out of the Court; the duke himself, as some say, complaining to the sick king of the words he spoke.⁵

King Charles was, on Tuesday, at the sermon in the chapel at Whitehall, having, till then, been retired.

Our great fleet goes still forward amain, of above one hundred sail of ships, some say one hundred and twenty,

¹ He was born at Berden, in Essex, in October, 1586; and was related to Sir John Mead, of Loft's Hall, in the same county. He finished his education at Christ's College, of which he subsequently held a fellowship; in 1610 took the degree of master of arts; and in 1618 that of bachelor of divinity. Though offered high preferment, by Archbishop Usher, in the Church of Ireland, he declined, and never held any higher appointment than that of chaplain to Archbishop Laud. He obtained great celebrity as a scholar, not only in this country, but abroad, and corresponded with many of the most eminent men of letters of his time. He died at his college on the 1st of October, 1638.

² He was a kinsman of his correspondent's, and resided at Dalham, in Suffolk.

³ Dr. James Meddus, Mr. Mead's London correspondent, rector of St. Gabriel, Fenchurch. He was born in Cheshire, and had studied much in the German Universities. He died in 1632.

⁴ As the writer repeats some of the details of the *post mortem* examination given in the preceding letter, the passage has been struck out.

⁵ There is the first intimation in this paragraph of a suspicion, which was afterwards put forth with terrible distinctness.

whereof thirteen the king's. The proclamation renewed since the king's death for taking up all the best mariners, as I am told by one that saw it; and thereupon, all ships in the Thames are stayed. Whether, or what is meant, no man knows; but say it is one of the greatest preparations for sea that ever was made in England. I suppose they mean in ours, or our father's memory.

The duke's [of Buckingham] journey to France is laid down; and yet they say the business goeth on in a sort; but some think the prince will stand upon evener conditions now he is king than his father did, or would. It is said the parliament shall be the 17th of May; the funeral and coronation between that and May-day.

It is thought by some that there will appear a great change in the carriage of affairs of state in respect of what was in the former king's time. I know not what grounds they have, or whether it be conjecture. Dr. Preston¹ says he heard the duke himself, more than once or twice, affirm for certain the taking of Great Lima, in Peru.

The Dunkirkers lately took three of our merchants' ships, which the Spanish Leiger came presently to excuse to our new king, offering full satisfaction to a penny. The king answered, he desired none, but should find time to make himself amends.

We are here very busy about our burgesses afore the writ be come. I doubt the heads and body will not agree: the heads would prick whom we should choose, saying, Rey made such an order; but the body think themselves free, and will go nigh to choose, as I hear, some which they prick not, as Sir Simeon Steward.

John Chamberlain, Esq.,² to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, April 9, 1625.

Your nephew came to you so full fraught with whatsoever was here to be had, that it is needless to add to

¹ John Preston, D.D., master of Emmanuel College, in Cambridge, and for some time favourite of the Duke of Buckingham. He was chaplain to Charles, when Prince of Wales, and must not be confounded with a contemporary of the same name, an active Catholic priest, known as Father Preston. Dr. Preston died July, 1628.

² This gentleman appears to have been held in high estimation by many of his

your store; especially Sir Henry Fane being ready to be despatched to the Queen of Bohemia,¹ who can supply what is wanting.

The manner of King James's death, with all circumstances, are better known to them than to me, so that I will not touch it; because, I presume, we shall hear all at the funeral, where the lord keeper preaches, who was present for four or five days before his decease; because the Bishop of Winchester,² (whom the king called much after,) by reason of a sore fit of the stone and gravel at the same time, could not attend.

The corpse was brought from Theobalds on Monday night, and passed through Smithfield about nine o'clock, so through Holborn, Chancery Lane, and the Strand, to Denmark House, where it reposes till the tenth of the next month, appointed for the funeral. The convoy was well accompanied by all the nobility about the town, the pensioners, officers, and household servants, besides the lord mayor and aldermen. The show would have been solemn, but that it was marred by foul weather; so that there was nothing to be seen but coaches and torches.

The king came to Whitehall to the sermon on Tuesday, and there continues settling his household, and seeking to bring it to the antient form; while all the late king's menial servants and officers are commanded to attend the late king's body at Denmark House: but, being apprehensive that by their absence they might be dispossessed of their places and lodgings, they made a petition to be continued in both. The king answered he would do them all right, but it would be hard if the rising of the master should be the fall and ruin of his servants and followers. Yet, all continues *in statu quo prius*, with very little addition or alteration: only Sir Humphrey May was sworn of the council with the rest that would swear; for the Lord Baltimore, or Sir George Calvert,³ asked time to deliberate

contemporaries, though he never acquired a more distinguished post than that of commissioner for the repairing of St. Paul's, to which he was appointed in 1626, soon after which he died. He had accompanied Sir Dudley Carleton to Venice.

¹ Elizabeth, sister of Charles I.

² Dr. Andrews.

³ He received his political education in the school of Sir Robert Cecil, whose secretary he was; he was then clerk to the privy council, and having been knighted in

whether he might take the oath of allegiance, wherein he is since satisfied, for on Monday order was given for the Earls of Suffolk, Middlesex, and Bristol—the Viscounts Wallingford and St. Alban's—the Lords Wotton¹ and Baltimore, not to take the oaths, and so are discharged from the council.²

The number of the bedchambermen are abridged, for I hear but of six, all, or most, such as were about him in the same place when he was prince. It was said the Duke of Buckingham was only sworn gentleman of the bedchamber, but I can learn no certainty of it. He hath been lately much troubled with an impostume that brake in his head, and is yet somewhat crazy; but he continues in wonted favour and greatness.

The king shows himself in every way very gracious and affable; but the court is kept more strait and private than in the former time. He is very attentive and devout at prayers and sermons, gracing the preachers and assembly with amiable, cheerful countenance, which gives much satisfaction; and there is great hope conceived that the

1617, was shortly afterwards appointed secretary of state by James I., who employed him in several important offices, and rewarded his services with a grant of £1000 a-year beyond his official salary. In 1624, though he had been brought up in the principles of the reformed church, Sir George Calvert became a Roman Catholic, and resigned his employment. The king, however, thought proper to retain him in the privy council; and, as further proof that he had not forfeited his confidence, rewarded him with several extensive grants of lands in Ireland, of which kingdom he at the same time elevated him to the peerage, with the title of Baron Baltimore, of Baltimore, in the county of Longford. Nevertheless, Lord Baltimore seems to have sighed for action on a larger theatre, for, whilst secretary of state, he obtained from the crown a grant of the province of Avalon, in Newfoundland; yet, after expending at least £25,000 upon it, and visiting it on three different occasions, he was obliged to abandon the settlement: to make him amends, Charles I. granted Lord Baltimore a more important portion of the North American continent, called Maryland, (in compliment to the young Queen, Henrietta Maria,) on paying yearly at Windsor Castle two Indian arrows, and the fifth part of the gold and silver ore that might be discovered there. His lordship died before the grant had passed the great seal, which did not take place till June 20, 1632, when it was made out in favour of his eldest son Cecil, by his wife Anne, daughter of George Wynne, Esq., of Hertingfordbury, Herts.

¹ A name equally celebrated in the annals of diplomacy and of literature. Sir Edward Wotton, on being appointed ambassador to the court of Portugal, was raised to the peerage by James I., on the 13th of May, 1603, as Baron Wotton, of Marley, in Kent: his younger brother Henry, also a knight, was three times ambassador to the state of Venice, once to the States-General, and twice to the court of Savoy; besides filling several other important posts. Katherine, the eldest daughter of Thomas, the second Baron, was the mother of Philip second Earl of Chesterfield, and governess of the Princess of Orange. For her services during the civil war she was created Countess of Chesterfield by Charles II.

² They were excused on the ground of being Catholics.

world will every way amend, if the necessities of the time constrain not the contrary now at the first.

Sir George Goring came out of France on Saturday last, before the king's death was known. What he brought is kept close, as likewise what message or instructions Wat Montague carried, who was despatched thither this week. Sir Walter Aston came out of Spain toward the end of the king's sickness, with some new propositions (as is said,) from the King of Spain. He left his lady there, but whether he is to return, I hear not.

We have ill news of three hundred men going for Ireland, cast away about the Isle of Anglesey. Most of them were of Sir Robert Yaxeley's company.

The Lord Berkley's¹ young lady² is said to be distracted; and her sister, the Lady Fitzwalter, is, or hath been, but little better; both proceeding from the same cause, of jealousy. Three or four days before the king's decease, Secretary Conway was made Lord Conway, of Ragleyham House, in Warwickshire. We hear the king was proclaimed in Edinburgh the same day after he was proclaimed here in London.

I wrote some eight weeks since by Mr. Henry Fanshaw, by whom we hear no certain word since he went; but here was a flying tale that he should be dead at Flushing presently after his arrival there. But there be so many improbabilities in the report, that there is no credit in it. Yet his mother and other friends are much afflicted with the rumour; so that if you could learn any certainty of him, we should be glad to hear it, though his own negligence and idleness be much to be condemned for not writing all this time.

One Roberts, of Bristol, burying his father (who was of my old acquaintance), gave mourning cloaks to certain of his friends and familiars, with a promise to have them again after the solemnity ended, which the argument of the letter and ballad enclosed, which will make you laugh if you be in a good mood. And so I leave, with the re-

¹ George Lord Berkeley. He died in August, 1638.

² Elizabeth, second daughter and coheir of Sir Michael Stanhope, knight.

membrance of my best service to my good lady, I commend you to the protection of the Almighty.

PS. The Lord of Lepington looks higher than the vice-chamberlainship, which I hear was proffered him. This week the Lord Coke, with his gloves on, touched and kissed the king's hand; but whether he be confirmed a counsellor, or cashiered, I cannot yet learn.

*To the Rev. Joseph Mead.*¹

London, April 13, 1625.

Sir Robert Anstruther² returned hither on Saturday last, from his Low-Country, Danish, and German embassy, with assurance, as is said, that the King of Denmark will, about the 14th or 15th of May, be in the field with 23,000 foot and 7000 horse, whereof we are to pay 1000 horse, and 4000 or 5000 foot. But it is said Saxony will not come into the league; yet professeth not to aid the emperor, but to be neutral.

Our sovereign (whom God preserve) is zealous for God's truth—frequents and attentively hearkens to prayers and sermons—will pay all his father's, mother's, and brother's debts, and that, by disparking most of his remote parks and chases, which he may well do, this land having more of that kind than all the rest of Europe beside—will reform the court of unnecessary charges; so of recusants; hath ordered under his hand that no recusant papist shall have any mourning, of what rank soever he be; and, as I hear, hath put out the high sheriff³ of Nottinghamshire for accompanying the judges going to the sermon as far as the church door, and there leaving them. It is said the Lord Baltimore (Sir George Calvert) is now a professed papist; was going to Newfoundland, but is stayed. The duke is yet indisposed. The confessor of the Spanish or

¹ The name of the writer has not been preserved: probably it was Dr. Meddus. This omission will be found to occur in several instances.

² Sir Robert Anstruther was a noted diplomatist, during this and the preceding reign.

³ "The fault is true; but of the punishment, those who come out of Nottinghamshire Easter Tuesday had not heard."—*Note of Mr. Mead.*

Brussel's agent here hath disclaimed his former religion, at which the agent is far moved, that he hath laid upon him the sum of £100, that he might have him at hand till he could hear from Brussels. But the elders of the Dutch church here bailed him, (as some say) and will maintain the suit against the agent, if any shall fall out.

Our king is very careful for the whole city against the plague, which, in one week, is started up from four to ten parishes, and most in the heart of the city. The last bills were twenty-four. The order taken by proclamation is very good and seasonable. The king hath not disposed of his household for the manner of officers as yet, but defers them till the funeral be past.

An order for our new coins, with their mottos, was sent to the Tower in the beginning of the week; but no such coin to be stamped or come abroad till the funeral be past.

Gold	{	fine	{	30 15 10	<i>Amor civium Regis præsidium.</i>
		crowns	{	20 10 5	<i>Florent concordia regna. Cultores sui Deus protegit.</i>
Silver			{	5 d. 15 6 2 1	<i>Christo auspice regno. Justitia thronum firmat.</i>

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, April 22, 1625.

Yesterday, the of Algiers presented to his majesty a Turkey horse and mare at Whitehall, where I beheld both him and them. The horses were small, but very handsome and nimble. He brought two lions also with him, but those he left behind him at the Tower. But the best present were a hundred galley slaves, which, as they say, he brought with him, and set them free, but none appeared before the king.

Sir Francis Nethersole¹ is come from the Hague, and

¹ He enjoyed considerable notoriety by certain eccentricities in the way of oratory he chose to display in the House of Commons, of which he was a member.

arrived here on Wednesday last, who brings the certainty of the Prince of Orange's death, and said that Mansfield is scarce in the field.

Upon Wednesday, the king rode to the Tower in his coach, where he took his barge to Blackwall, and there viewed forty merchants' ships, rigged up for his navy, and in readiness. As he came back, he caused some of his plate to be carried from the Tower to Whitehall.

Of the plague, there died this week 25; the number of infected parishes is 11; and the citizens hope that it will cease, otherwise they lose both term and parliament.

The.....is sent to France, and the Duke of Anjou, the king's brother, to be espoused to his sister, in the name of our king.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, April 23, 1625.

I heard this week that the Spanish ambassador, being over-eager to know the design of our great fleet from our king, and not being satisfied with the first and second denial, but must needs have something to write unto his master. As an answer from his majesty, the king bade him write this—that his sister had now a king to her brother.

There was talk here that the Earl of Anglesey (Kit Villiers¹) was banished the court. The ground of the report, as I heard yesterday, was, that when there was suit made by some great ones, that he might be again sworn of the bedchamber, the king denied it, saying, he would have no drunkards of his chamber. Sir Maurice Abbot, the archbishop's brother, is the first knight the king hath made.

Mr. Withers² is come to Cambridge to print his psalms, whereof he showed the old king an hundred in Christmas

¹ Christopher Villiers, younger brother of the first Duke of Buckingham, was created Earl of Anglesey in 1623. He was one of the gentlemen of the horse to James I., who seems to have been less scrupulous in the article of drunkenness than his successor.

² George Withers, the poet, born at Bentworth, near Alton, in Hampshire, and educated at Magdalen College, in Oxford, under Dr. John Warner, Bishop of Rochester. He died in 1654.

time, who then told him himself had done fifty, but meant not now to go on.

Dr. Richardson¹ died on Wednesday morning about nine o'clock. He was in his sickness so stupid, that he (seemed to give no entertainment) to those that came to do him office of pity in that case—was hardly gotten, after much urging, to answer those who spoke unto him concerning his faith, and asking forgiveness of such as he had wronged, and then said no more but I—I—. Yet, when they asked him about an election of scholars, which was to be at that time, he roused himself and spoke to purpose, walking the length of his chamber without holding! I heard it from one present, who went, like others, to do him that charitable office upon Monday. They got him on Sunday to make a will, but with some ado first. He bequeathed his land, being £100 a-year, with all the plate and furniture at Linton, to a nephew, whose father was dead. He gave the college £300, and twenty of the scholars £40 a piece, for a ring; they say, £20 to Peter House, and all his folio books to Emmanuel; to old Harry, but £10; all the rest he gave his brother, whom he made his executor, which was £400 in gold, and a bag of silver found in his study, and a mortgage valued at £1800, with all the furniture and plate at Trinity College, and the remainder of £600 he had lent the college, when the other legacies are taken out.

I know not yet who will be their master. It is in the king's sole power to bestow. There are many competitors, but thought it will go between Dr. Lucy, whose wife is dead, and Dr. Preston, a man of special favour with the king.²

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, April 23, 1625.

I have not yet had the fortune to meet with the messenger that brought your letter of the 14th of this present.

¹ John Richardson, D.D., Master of Trinity College, Cambridge.

² Dr. Richardson was succeeded in the mastership of Trinity College by Dr. Leonard Mawe, who had previously been master of Peterhouse, and left Trinity College in 1628, when he was made Bishop of Bath and Wells.

And though he made good speed, it was here a general notice of the Prince of Orange's¹ decease before he came. I cannot greatly blame the Portugal Jew for putting it in adventure to despatch him quickly, if his case was so desperate. He is nothing so much lamented here as if he had died a year or two since; for we say he hath done nothing of late like himself, but hath brought his men to that pass, that, instead of soldiers, he hath made them nothing but spademen and pioneers.

I have ever had a great opinion of Spinola, as the ablest man of our age for judgment and vigilancy, daring and wariness; and if he carry Breda, as we make account he will, it is one of the greatest services hath been done many a day, considering the manifold difficulties.

We are here yet, without any alteration, only the young Duke of Lennox is sworn gentleman of the bed-chamber. We talk of a selected or cabinet council, whereto none are admitted but the Duke of Buckingham, Lord Treasurer, Lord Chamberlain, Lord Brooke, and the Lord Conway, who, they say, will leave his place and go for Ireland, when this bottom is untwined they are now about.

The Lord of Lepington² hath a grant of £500 a-year of the king's land, where he shall like to choose it, to him and his heirs male, and, for want of such, to his daughter, the Lady Wharton,³ with remission to the crown. Sir Francis Cottington⁴ hath another of £200 a-year, in recompense of his services. These are the chief graces yet bestowed; others are expected after the funeral, when likewise the time and place of the parliament will be more

¹ Maurice.

² Robert Carey, Baron Hunsdon and Earl of Monmouth.

³ Philadelphia, married to Sir Thomas Wharton.

⁴ Fourth son of Philip Cottington, Esq., of Godmanston, in the county of Somerset. He was clerk of the council to James I., and secretary to Charles Prince of Wales, on whose accession to the throne he was created a baronet, on the 16th of February, 1623. He subsequently filled the offices of chancellor and under treasurer of the Exchequer; and on being sent ambassador to the court of Madrid, to negotiate a peace, was created a peer on the 10th of July, 1631, by the title of Lord Cottington, Baron of Hamworth, in the county of Middlesex. We next find him filling the important post of Lord Treasurer, while the king remained in Scotland, in the ninth year of his reign, and on his return was made master of the wards. He was faithful to his royal master in all his troubles, and no less faithful to his son, whom, after the fatal battle of Woodstock, he accompanied into exile, whence he never returned, dying at Valladolid in 1653. He married the widow of Sir Robert Brett, Anne, daughter of Sir William Meredith, Knight, and had by her a son and four daughters, all of whom he survived, and his barony became extinct.

certainly laid down, according to the increase or diminishing of the plague, which, though it exceed not yet four or five and twenty a week, yet the apprehension is more than usual, and startles us very much, as well in regard of the time of year, and great concourse that of necessity must be, as that it is already dispersed in more than a dozen several parishes. Whereupon Winchester, Salisbury, and Oxford, are taken into consideration; and upon one of these three it is like to light, if there be cause. But the physicians do in a manner agree that this sickness is not directly the plague, as not leaving any sore, or any such like accident, but only contagious in blood or kindred.

The king hath sent to the city to borrow £60,000 upon such security as they can demand; and they are busy to furnish it as fast as they can. On Thursday, his majesty gave audience to a Chioux of Argier,¹ that brought a present of Barbary horses, tigers, lions, and such like. He would needs have taken upon him the state of an ambassador, but was received only as a messenger.

Ned Sherburne is become secretary to the East Indian Company; and on Monday, Maurice Abbot, their governor, // had the maidenhead of the king's knighting sword. //

The Duchess of Richmond moved on Wednesday from Ely Place to Exeter House, with great pomp, accompanied by the young Duke of Lennox and his sister, the Lady Elizabeth; the Earls of Arundel and Montgomery; the Countesses of Exeter, Devonshire, and Middlesex; many baronesses; with a number of other ladies, and a great *comitium* of coaches. She pays £300 a-year for the house, and hath furnished it richly with cloth of state, and all other compliments.

The French match² is said to be in great forwardness, and to be celebrated to-morrow; for which purpose three proxies are sent, for the Duke Chaureuse,³ for Monsieur the king's brother, or for the king himself.

The Lord of Holland⁴ hath obtained that his lady should

¹ Sheikh of Algiers.

² That of Charles with Henrietta Maria.

³ Claude de Lorraine, Duc de Chevreuse. He died in 1657.

⁴ Henry Rich, Lord Kensington, advanced to the earldom of Holland in 1624. He assisted in negotiating the projected marriage of Charles with the Infanta of Spain, and the more successful one with Henrietta Maria.

be of the bed-chamber to the new queen, whereof she sent word to the king that she had made choice of one servant unseen: but it seems the king doth not allow of it, but wishes her to take time to consider here, and see what may be said touching such persons as are to be so near her.¹ * *

The Lord Chief Baron² is said to be dead, or dying, and Sir John Walter, the new serjeant, named already for his successor. The Archbishop of York³ is reported to be in the same case; which, if it so fall out, the Lord Keeper, it is thought, shall go to that see; the Lord Treasurer be Lord Keeper; Lord Conway, Lord Treasurer; and Sir Edward Sandys, Secretary.

I hear Abraham Williams, the Queen of Bohemia's agent, was knighted two days since; whereof, I doubt not, his lady is well pleased, that she may now take that place by authority which she did before by presumption.

I send you here certain verses of our Dean of Paul's,⁴ upon the death of the Marquis of Hamilton; which, though they be reasonably witty and well done, yet I could wish a man of his years and place to give over versifying.

My Lady Fanshaw hath heard at last of her son at Dort, and acknowledgeth much obligation to your lordship for your honourable favour and care of him.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, April 27, 1625.

Our late king's funeral is now appointed to be May the 5th,⁵ and the day after is the duke (and some say also the king, but others, not till Monday after) to go towards Dover, the lady being to be there May 11. The duke's servants are gone towards France, with fifty geldings and nags, and twelve coach horses.⁶

¹ A reference to the death of Dr. Richardson, given in a preceding page, has here been omitted.

² Sir Lawrence Stanfield.

³ Sir Toby Mathew.

⁴ Dr. Donne.

⁵ It did not take place till two days later.

⁶ Of the state and splendour which Buckingham affected in this embassy, some idea may be gained by reference to an account of his retinue and wardrobe, preserved among the Harleian MSS., and printed in the first series of Ellis's *Historical Letters*.

Last Sunday, Sir Thomas Glover,¹ having come by water from Court to Cross Friars,² at the Italian ordinary, to confer with the Turkish agent of Algiers, having spoken with him a few words, fell suddenly down stark dead.

Dr. Meddus to the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, Friday, April 29, 1625.

Eight strong and nimble ships are to be sent away for the French king's service with speed. They lie for the next wind; but the navy royal is not ready as yet.

The duke is sworn master of the horse.

Buried this week: in all, 305; of the plague, 26, but 3 within the walls; parishes infected, 9, whereof 2 within the walls.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, April 30, 1625.

The solemnization of the nuptials of our king and queen and the madame of France are supposed to have been performed on Sunday last, the Duke of Anjou, her brother, being proxy. She is to be at Boulogne upon the 10th of May, where the duke and other lords are to fetch her with twenty ships. Hereupon, the funeral, which was formerly appointed to be on that day, is anticipated, and shall be on Thursday, the 5th of May; and on the day following our king sets forward towards Dover.

Sir George Goring hath sent her divers of our common prayer books in French, which some suppose to give hope of her conversion; but others much doubt, she having a bishop and twenty-eight priests, resolute papists, as are all her servants. Some apprehend that our English priests and Jesuits will be severely dealt withal, upon pretence the queen hath so many.

¹ Who had been formerly ambassador at Constantinople. In a subsequent letter he is said to have died so poor as to have been buried at the charge of the Turkey Company.

² Or Crutched Friars.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, May 6, 1625.

Coming in somewhat late, I understand that Mr. Nichols is upon his despatch; and though he knows much more than myself how all goes on at court, yet I will not omit to tell what is stirring in city and country. The great funeral appointed for Tuesday next was abridged, and should have been yesterday, but the time was so short, that of necessity it is put off till to-morrow.

The *fiancialles* were performed on Thursday, being their ascension, and the marriage on Sunday last, our May-day. We had notice of the former on Saturday night, and on Wednesday evening we had bells and bonfires in abundance upon news of the latter. The bride is to set forward on Thursday next. The king brings her to Amiens, the queen regnant and queen mother to Boulogne, where it is thought our king will meet and receive her at their hand. We hear the ceremony was not done till it was very late, by reason of controversy and concurrence among divers great ones for place and precedence.

Here is great preparation for shows and pageants, yet it is thought the coronation will not be till October, specially if the sickness increase, which yet, God be thanked, is not very outrageous, there dying this week 292; of the plague, 30; more by 4 than the last bill, and less by 13 in the whole number.

The term is begun, and it is thought the parliament will hold the 27th of this month, though perhaps not to sit long. It was once set down the coronation should have been the day before the parliament, and then the term to have been kept in Durham House, in respect that Westminster Hall must be trimmed up for the feast.

Here hath been much canvassing for places in parliament. Sir John Franklin and Sir Gilbert Gerald carried it away in Middlesex from Mr. Comptroller, though he were present, which was not thought so wise a part for a privy counsellor to take the foil in person. Sir Francis Knollys and young Dunck are for Berkshire. Sir John Boteler and John Boteler, that hath married Sir Richard

Spenser's daughter, for Hertfordshire. Sir Francis Barington and Sir Arthur Harris, for Essex. The young Lord Burghersh, the Lord of Westmoreland's son, and Secretary Morton for Kent, where Sir Edwin Sandys and one Scott stood mainly for it, and made account to carry it, but finding the adverse party strong, made an oration, or speech—none of the wisest, as is reported; but for all his haranguing, he lost the day, though he cavilled much at the sheriff as partial, whereas it is verified there were at least three to one against him; so that Sir Dudley Digges may say, *nunc sumus ergo pares*; for the like trick he served him the last election. Sir Anthony Wotton stood to be burgess for Canterbury; but for all the friends he could make, and though he spent fifty pounds in good drink upon his followers, yet one Captain Fisher, a master-master, won it from him. If I had been as Secretary Morton, I should have esteemed as much the choice of the university of Cambridge, where he was elected their highest title in show, and at the expense of two or three hundred pounds they say, at least. But he is now in a fair way of thriving, the king having this last week bestowed upon him £500 a-year pension during his life.

The Lord of Andover is to have £20,000 in lieu of his mastership of the Horse, besides being to be made an earl and a privy counsellor, as the voice goes. These and such like large allowances do somewhat diminish the opinion conceived of the king's good husbandry. I pray God we take it not too high at first, for then we cannot hold.

Here is a French ambassador come to condole. Some say he is a marquis, I know not whence; some say a captain of the guard. He had audience on Wednesday, performed in very good fashion on all sides. The Duke of Buckingham was never in greater favour, and all things pass by him.¹ * * * * *

The Lord Chief Baron Tanfield died on Saturday, and it is thought Sir John Walter shall succeed him; and Sir Thomas Trevor, no great lawyer, made a baron of the exchequer.

¹ We omit here a repetition of the account of Sir Thomas Glover's death.

Sir Henry Yelverton's lady¹ died this day sevensnight, and within two days he had a message from the duke that he was to be made a judge of the common pleas.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

London, May 6, 1625.

The marriage was consummated last Sunday, between ten and eleven at night, after some difficulties about it, and much contention about the precedency of some great ones. Notice hereof came hither on Wednesday, which, in the evening, caused great ringing and bonfires making. It is written also confidently from France that the king and the protestants are well accorded, and we expect to hear much good effect of it.

The coronation is put off till September; and his majesty rides not to meet the queen till Wednesday or Thursday next.

Yesterday, were the warrants signed by his majesty, and directed to several counties for the levy of a thousand land soldiers, to be employed in the service of his brother and sister, the Prince and Princess Palatine,² and to be at the rendezvous at Plymouth upon the 26th of this present, which, though an impossibility, will hasten the more.

On Sunday last, his majesty took exact notice who of his household took communion, and who not; since which, a certain Irish earl, talking loud in the privy chamber whilst the king was at service in the closet next adjoining, his majesty, with some indignation, sent unto him to leave his prating, and to come to prayers; whereunto the earl answered, that his majesty knew well enough he did not come to his prayers. To which answer his majesty replied, *If he will not come to my prayers, let him get out of my house.* Whereupon the earl for that time, with much grief, quitted the place. However, it is the general opinion that his majesty will not suffer any papist to be his domestic servant.

¹ Margaret, daughter of Robert Beale, Esq., clerk to the council of Queen Elizabeth.

² Our present royal family sprung from the marriage of Charles's sister to the Prince Elector Palatine.

On Tuesday last, the 3rd of May, were sworn of the council of war, my Lord Duke of Buckingham, the Earl of Pembroke,¹ Lord Conway,² Lord Hervey,³ Lord Castle Island,⁴ Sir Robert Mansell, Sir John Ogle, Sir Thomas Batton, &c.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, May 14, 1625.⁵

The parliament holds, but thought not above some twenty days, and that to settle the house, and devise some allowable and parliamentary way (though not in the nature of a subsidy for defect of coronation) to supply the present necessities of our warlike preparation. The judges, they say, sate about it; but what they resolved the king, I hear not. Yet some talk of a parliamentary contribution, if not in the full nature, yet in the name of a benevolence, which may be agreed upon without a session or royal assent, as not having the nature of a compulsive statute.

Why the coronation is deferred so long, we know not; but some imagine some mystery in it besides the present businesses and danger of infection: for withal the confirmation of madame's jointure is also necessarily deferred. Yet it is supposed she will come sooner than we expected, and the king goes to meet her on Monday at the farthest.

The king's closet counsel I hear to be: 1, Archbishop of Canterbury;⁶ 2, Duke of Buckingham; 3, Earl of Pembroke; 4, Lord Brooke; 5, Lord Treasurer Leigh; 6, Secretary Conway.

There died of the plague this week, 45; and 13 parishes infected.

¹ William Herbert, third Earl of Pembroke.

² Sir Edward Conway, secretary of state.

³ William Hervey, of Kidbrooke, in Kent, a distinguished soldier during the two preceding reigns, having served with credit against the armada in '88. He was raised to the peerage of Ireland in 1620, and in 1628 was made a peer of England.

⁴ Sir Edmond Herbert, author of the History of the Reign of King Henry VIII. and other works. (?)

⁵ A letter from the same hand is preserved among the Harleian MSS. of the previous day's date, but it contains nothing of importance.

⁶ Abbot.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, May 14, 1625.

The great funeral was on the 7th of this month: the greatest, indeed, that was ever known in England, there being blacks distributed for above nine thousand persons; the hearse, likewise, being the fairest and best fashioned that hath been seen, wherein Inigo Jones, the surveyor, did his part. The king himself was chief mourner, and followed on foot from Denmark House to Westminster Church, where it was five o'clock stricken before all was entered; and the lord keeper took up two hours in the sermon, which, they say, we shall shortly have in print; so that it was late before the offering and all other ceremonies were ended. In fine, all was performed with great magnificence, but the order was very confused and disorderly. The whole charge is said to arise above £50,000.

Sir John Garret, our eldest alderman, died two days since.

The sickness begins to show itself, and to spread in divers places, having already infected thirteen parishes. Our whole number this week was 332; of the plague, 45. Whereupon, the parliament, that should begin on Tuesday next, is yet in suspense; and we hear yet of no resolution whether it shall hold, or be put off for a time. Much ado there hath been of late, and is still, for places. Sir Henry Wotton is chosen for Sandwich, where Sir Edwin Sandys missed his hold and his hope; as likewise at Maidstone.

The Dunkirkers are very busy, and within these three weeks have taken sixteen sail, one and another, whereof four or five English. Our fleet is in good forwardness, and is to be augmented with some merchant ships, and twenty men for land service, of which number Sir Edward Cecil, Sir John Ogle, Sir William St. Leger, Sir Henry Poore, Viscount of Valentia, and I know not who else, are named to have regiments. But our greatest news is, that on Wednesday morning the Duke of Buckingham went for France, accompanied only with the Earl of Montgomery, Secretary Morton, Sir George Goring, Sir Thomas Badger, and Wat. Montague. What the reason should be

of so sudden resolution, *non si penetra*. Some say, to salute the queen, and carry a fair present of jewels; but most think, *aliquid latet*, that her setting forth is so long and so often deferred, and that somewhat more is to be performed for the Catholic cause before we shall see her; and thus we are fallen out of the fryingpan into the fire. I would be sorry to be so overreached; but, if it be the fortune of our forwardness, who can do withal? She was prayed for last week in the king's chapel, by the name of Queen Henry, for Henrietta; but since, the style is changed everywhere to Queen Mary.

On Thursday, Sir John Walter was made Lord Chief Baron, Sir Thomas Trevor a Baron of the Exchequer, and Sir Henry Yelverton a Judge of the Common Pleas.

PS. Among many epitaphs and funeral elegies set out by Cambridge and Oxford, and other choice wits, upon the late king's death, I send you this short one, which I take to be Sir Isaac Wake's, for it came thence in his hand.

“*Question.*

“ Can a king die, and we no comet see?
Tell me, astrologers, how this can be.

“*Answer.*

“ Heaven's beacons burn not but to give alarm
Unto a state of some ensuing harm.
The angels carrying up our blessed king
Did with still music his sweet requiem sing.
No innovation being to be heard,
Why should Heaven summon men unto his guard?
His spirit was redoubled on his son;
And that was seen on his assumption.”

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, May 28, 1625.

I have one of the pieces flung about at the marriage. On one side is Cupid, holding in one hand lilies, in the other roses; the motto, *Fundit amor lilia mixta rosis*. On the other side, the picture of the king and queen, with this—*Carolus Mag. et Henrietta Maria Brit. Rex et Reg.*

No jollity at the marriage, nor any of the French, save the king himself and the prince, in gay clothes. But our ambassadors were very rich and gallant.

There died of the sickness this week, in all, 78; whereof within the walls, 14; parishes infected, 17; within the walls, 9.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, May 28. 1625.

We talk of a rich Holland East Indian ship that lay last week two whole days in the Downs, in sight of the king's ships, that would not see her: whereby we may easily perceive how the world goes. Our soldiers press daily towards Plymouth, where Sir John Ogle and others are to train and discipline them. The common speech runs of 15,000 land soldiers at least. A band of Bedfordshire men, they say, have killed their lieutenant, or conductor, and are run away and dispersed.

We have now almost every day posts out of France, that bring word the queen is on her way by this time as far as Amiens, where she is to tarry three days, and makes account to be at Boulogne by Wednesday eve, and here the Saturday after. The French king promises to overtake her at Amiens, and there takes his leave; that the queen regnant and queen mother accompany her to the seaside; so that we are like to have three queens at Boulogne, to answer the three kings at Cologne.

The king goes hence on Tuesday through to Canterbury, and so to Dover. The pensioners and some of the train are gone before; but some of the foremost were the Marquis Hamilton, the Countesses of Buckingham, Denbigh, and Anglesey, with the French Lady Cary, who went away on Thursday, with the intent to go to Boulogne, where the Lady Cary says she must cast down herself at queen dowager's feet, for ancient favours.

Here is a new world of Scottishmen come—thirty lords at least in the court at once; but it is hoped the king's journey will disperse them. There is no remedy, they say, but the king must go into Scotland to be crowned; which yet he may at leisure.

I hope our weekly bill is not much risen this week, there being 401 in all; of the plague, 78; parishes infected, 16.

The Lord of Bristol is said to be very sick, and in danger. Questor was overthrown this day sevendnight in a suit about the postmaster's office, wherein the Lord Stanhope prevailed against him. This day a great cause, and that was long depended, was determined in the Exchequer chamber, 'twixt the Lord Sheffield and one Radcliffe, wherein Radcliffe went to the wall, to his utter undoing.

I was minded to send a list of the Ladies that are appointed to meet the queen at Dover; but it varies and alters so often, that it were to no purpose. Their number is about four or five and twenty: all their coaches furnished with six horses, which comes altogether now in fashion; a vanity of excessive charge, and of little use.

Your brother Carleton was in town this week; but, after his wont, (came to fetch fire,) as they say, and tarried / but two days.

The Lord of Arundel hath played a friendly part with the Lady Fanshaw, and caused the king to send for all her pictures, great and small; which may serve as a caveat, that if you bring home any you esteem, he may be the last should see them.

Young Mr. Fanshaw recommends this letter to his brother, if he may be found; for it seems he obscures himself, and would not let any of his friends know what is become of him, nor what course he means to take, nor under what captain, colonel, or general he hath put himself, that they may know how to hear of him. If you can learn by any that come from the army, or by any other means, what he doth, it will be held for a great favour from your lordship.

Sir William Boswell¹ to the Rev. Joseph Mead.

Westminster College, 3rd June, 1625.

Our queen is this night expected at Boulogne, whereof, her health serving, there is no question; so that to-morrow, or the next day, his majesty's hope is to receive her at

¹ Sir William Boswell was Charles the First's resident at the Hague.

Dover. Her portion-money (*quod tibi dictum volo*) is already paying here. The legate remains solitary and melancholy at Paris, with as much neglect as ever any did in his quality.

The Bishop of Montpellier comes governor of her majesty's chapel, and Le Père Berulle (an old Frenchman, and founder, as I think—I am sure principal—of *Ordinis Oratorii*) is her confessor. Dr. Smith (the doctor of Sorbonne) is Bishop of Chalcedon, and general of our English papists. Dr. Colleton, the old adversary of the Jesuits, dean under him.

This is all I can add, my haste is such, besides my prayers unto God to direct their hearts unto peace, obedience, and faith.

*Mr. Pory*¹ to the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, June 3, 1625.

Not to speak of that which was not, (the taking of Sir Charles Morgan, or the death of Captain Weston,) let me tell you a matter of greater consequence; namely, that Breda is yielded, but upon most honourable terms—viz., the commanders, soldiers, and burghers, to pass away with drums beating, colours flying, (bullets in their mouths, matches lighted, bag and baggage, and four pieces of ordinance. The burghers that remain to have liberty of conscience for two years, and, in the mean time, to dispose of their goods; and the Prince of Orange to have thirteen months' respite to do what he pleases with such moveables

¹ John Pory was born about the year 1570, and educated at Caius College, Cambridge, where, on the 19th of April, 1610, he received the degree of M.A. In the same year he had become a member of the House of Commons; but, if destined for the career of a legislator, he took a strange way of following it, for he began to travel abroad, and for several years continued to go from place to place, being at Venice July, 1613, a few years subsequently at Amsterdam, after that at Paris: but it was soon proved that the new world had greater charms for him than the old, and in 1619 he is found filling the post of secretary of state in the colony of Virginia, where he also became a member of the council. He came home after the lapse of two years, but returned to the colony as member of a commission of inquiry into the state of that province, and did not get back to England till the summer of 1624. He appears to have been one of the ablest "Intelligencers" of his age, and there is reason to believe that he was qualified by his position to speak with confidence as regards the very singular revelations to be found in his correspondence. He is said to have published a work on Africa, and to have been celebrated as a cosmographer. He died somewhere about the year 1635—the exact date is not known.

as do belong to him. But how this prince and Count Mansfield do now dispose of themselves, *ne quidem*.

Out of Italy, they say the Duke of Savoy and the constable have taken the Lantern, of Genoa, which, if it be true, the city is theirs; because the Lantern commands the fort, and they are already masters of the field.

His majesty is now at Dover, and the queen expected to arrive there this very day.

A copy of the proxy sent to the Duke of Chevreuse to marry the queen in the name of our king, and another, of my lord duke's commission to bring her majesty into England, I shall have time enough to send you the next week (as now I have not), and they are worth your sight.

A false rumour hath been spread, of great quantity of corrupt victuals to have been put aboard the renowned navy, to discourage men to go therein. But the first reporters are worthy to have their tongues cut out; for, upon trial and examination, it was found to be quite otherwise.

One thing let me add more, that the Duke of Savoy and the constable, besetting the ways for the Spanish couriers in Italy, have intercepted many of that king's packets, and thereby discovered many rare secrets.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London June 12, 1625.

We hear the ill news of the Earl of Oxford's decease,¹ which is so much the more lamented, for that he was the only hope and support of so ancient and noble a house; which is like to go to ruin, his successor, they say, being a man of mean worth and regard. But this is the common fate of all worldly honour, to fade and fall.

We do or say little here, but expect the queen's coming, and marvel it is so long deferred. It should seem we have poor intelligence, when the king posted hence the last of May to meet her, and the lords and ladies were sent somewhat before, to attend her coming at Canterbury, where they have tarried ever since, to their great trouble and

¹ Henry, the eighteenth earl. He died at the Hague.

chagrin. But the king cheers them up almost every day with messages from Dover, and persuades them to patience. On Whitsun eve he dined aboard the Prince Royal, and visited two or three of the ships more that lay in the road. But that evening there fell out such a storm that made them fall foul one upon another, and did much harm.

The cause of the queen's stay is said to be her mother's sickness on the way; and if all be true that is reported, they can make no great haste, being to march with a little army of 4000 at least, whereof the Duke of Chevreuse and his followers make up 300, and 60 that belong to his kitchen. He and his lady are to be lodged at Denmark House, where she is to lie in, and their allowance from our king is £200 a day, besides £100 a day for Villeauxclerc and his consort. But they come in an ill time, for the sickness increaseth and is spread far and near, so that 25 parishes in this town are infected already, and this week's bill ariseth to 434 in all—of the plague, 91. So that, if God be not merciful to us, this town is like to suffer much, and be half undone. And that which makes us the more afraid is, that the sickness increaseth so fast, when we have had for a month together the extremest cold weather ever I knew in this season. What are we then to look for when heats come on, and fruits grow ripe?

Orlando Gibbon, the organist of the chapel, that had the best hand in England, died the last week at Canterbury, not without suspicion of the sickness.¹

Our parliament should begin on Monday, but no doubt it will be put off again, which makes the knights and burghesses complain that they are kept here with so much danger and expense to so little purpose. For there is no likelihood they can sit there long, if at all.

The Earl of Montgomery, the Earl of Carlisle, and Secretary Morton are come out of France, where they and the rest were dismissed with bountiful presents. The Duke of Buckingham himself wrote to the king that he had already to the value of 80,000 crowns; the Earl of Carlisle to

¹ This eminent musician was born at Cambridge, where he took the degree of doctor of music on the 17th of May, 1622. He lies buried in Canterbury Cathedral. Wood (*Fasti Oxon.*) says he died of the smallpox.

22,000 crowns; the Earl of Holland to 2,000 crowns; Secretary Morton to £200; Sir George Goring had a diamond from the king of £1,000, from the queen mother one of £300, and curious plate to the value of £1,200; as likewise Sir Francis Nethersole the same quantity of plate. How much or how little of this is true I cannot affirm, being *nihil præter auditum*.

We hear that the Great Mogul hath imprisoned all our men, and seized their goods at Surat, by practice of the Hollanders, as is thought.

Three posts arrived within these two days out of Scotland, with news that the Earl of Argyle¹ is come thither with forces to trouble that country or Ireland, to which he is a near neighbour. Surely we have small advertisement that could not discover nor prevent such a practice.

Sir John Bennet hath lately penned and printed certain meditations upon the 51st penitential, or psalm of mercy. It seems *afflictio dat intellectum*, and that he hath made the best use of it.

At the closing of this letter, I hear the queen came to Boulogne on Thursday, and may by this time be got over, if the northerly wind that hath reigned yesterday and to-day do not hinder her; and likewise that the sickness is come into the lord mayor's house, so that he is driven to shut up his doors, forsake the town, and hath left Sir Thomas Bennet his deputy.

Dr. Meddus to the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, June 17, 1625.

The last night, at five o'clock, (there being a very great shower) the king and queen, in the royal barge, with many other barges of honour, and thousands of boats, passed through London bridge to Whitehall; infinite numbers, besides those in wherries, standing in houses, ships, lighters, western barges; and on each side of the shore, fifty good ships discharging their ordnance as their majesties passed

¹ Archibald, who had engaged in the service of Spain against the States-General. He had afterwards permission to return to England, and died in London in the year 1638.

along by, as, last of all, the Tower did—such a peel as, I believe, she never before heard the like. The king and queen were both in green suits. The barge windows, notwithstanding the vehement shower, were open, and all the people shouting amain. She hath already given some good signs of hope that she may ere long, by God's blessing, become ours in religion.¹

She arrived at Dover on Sunday, about eight in the evening, lay there in the castle that night, whither the king rode on Monday morning from Canterbury, came thither after ten of the clock, and she being at meat, he stayed in the presence till she had done, which she advertised of, made short work, rose, went unto him, kneeled down at his feet, took and kissed his hand. The king took her up in his arms, kissed her, and talking with her, cast down his eyes towards her feet (she, seeming higher than report was, reaching to his shoulder,) which she soon perceiving, discovered and showed him her shoes, saying to this effect: "Sir, I stand upon mine own feet; I have no helps by art. Thus high I am, and am neither higher nor lower." She is nimble and quick, black eyed, brown haired, and, in a word, a brave lady, though perhaps a little touched with the green sickness.

One ship, whereupon stood above a hundred people, not being balanced nor well tied to the shore, and they standing all upon one side, was overturned and sunk—all that were upon her tumbling into the Thames; yet was not any lost that I can hear of, but all saved by help of boats.

The bells rung till midnight, and all the streets were full of bonfires, and in this one street² were above thirty.

Extract from another letter, of the same date.

It were but lost labour to tell you the queen arrived on Sunday at Dover; that on Monday, at ten o'clock, the king came from Canterbury thither to visit her; and though

¹ These signs were very fallacious. †

² Probably Fenchurch Street, as the letter seems to be from Dr. Meddus. Yet Sir Henry Ellis states that it was written by Mr. Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

she were unready, so soon as she heard he was come, she hastened down a pair of stairs to meet him, and offering to kneel down and to kiss his hand, he wrapt her up in his arms, and kissed her with many kisses. The first words she said to him were, *Sire, je suis venue en ce pais pour votre majesté pour estre usée et commandée de vous.* They retired themselves an hour, and then, having made herself ready, they went forth into the presence, where she recommended all her servants by name and quality in order. At dinner, being carved pheasant and venison, by his majesty, (who had dined before) she eat heartily of both, notwithstanding her confessor (who all the while stood by her) had forewarned her that it was the even of St. John Baptist, and was to be fasted, and that she should take heed how she gave ill examples or scandal at her first arrival. The same night, having supped at Canterbury, her majesty went to bed, and, some time after, his majesty followed her; but, being entered her bed-chamber, the first thing he did, he bolted all the doors round about, being seven, with his own hand, letting in but two of his bed-chamber to undress him; which being done, he bolted them out also. The next morning, he lay till seven o'clock, and was pleasant with the lords, that he had beguiled them, and hath ever since been very jocund.

Yesterday, I saw them coming up from Gravesend, and never beheld the king to look so merrily. In stature, her head reached just to his shoulder; but she is young enough to grow taller. Those of our nation that know best her disposition are very hopeful his majesty will have power to bring her to his own religion. Being asked, not long since, if she could abide an Huguenot, "Why not?" said she; "was not my father one?"

Yesterday, betwixt Gravesend and London, she had the beautiful and stately view of part of our navy that is to go to sea, which gave her a volley of fifteen hundred great shot. So they arrived at Whitehall, where they continue till Monday, when they go to Hampton Court. On Sunday [June 19] there is a great feast at Whitehall. Tomorrow, his majesty will be present in the upper house to begin the parliament, which is thought shall be removed

to Oxford. The term is to be holden but three days at the beginning, and three at the end.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, June 18, 1625.

The plague, which in the former week was 91, and 25 parishes, is this week risen to 165, and 31 parishes.

It is generally talked that the let of the queen's coming on after she came to Amiens was, the importunity of the pope's legate, who came thither to impose upon her I know not what penitential confession for sixteen (some say twenty-six) days, for consenting to marry our king without the pope's *dispensation*, and that finished, to absolve her.¹ Hereof she informed his majesty by letter of her own hand, who wrote back, that unless she came speedily, by such a day, he must and would return to London upon great business. Whereupon she came presently away without confession, leaving the legate at Amiens.

Dr. Meddus² to the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, June 24, 1625.

Last Sunday, the queen and hers (the king inhibiting English ladies to attend her majesty) were at high mass (it being St. Peter's day) at Denmark House, with the Duke of Chevreuse and his duchess, when the queen's lord chamberlain was made knight of the French order of the Holy Ghost, and was afterwards there feasted. On Tuesday was the marriage confirmed, declared to be lawfully and fully consummated, and the queen proclaimed queen; after which ceremonies, the king held his wedding-dinner, and feasted the French. The next night after, the Duke of Buckingham feasted them.

The chapel goes on again. She had twenty-nine priests,

¹ A celebrated writer treats this piece of intelligence with very little respect; nevertheless, it is extremely probable, and is regarded as a fact by an historian of great authority. See D'Israeli's "Commentaries on the Life and Reign of Charles I.," vol. i.

² This letter is also given to Mr. Mead by Sir Henry Ellis—we do not know on what authority.

fourteen of them Theatines,¹ and fifteen seculars, besides a bishop, a young man under thirty years old.

To-morrow, the House of Commons holds a fast, in St. Margaret's Church, in Westminster, where they are to have three sermons, by Dr. Westfield, Mr. Shute, and Mr. Holdsworth,² who (as I heard a parliament man say last night) is in Dr. Preston's stead, who excused it. They intend to move the Lords to have a general fast throughout the whole kingdom.

Extract from another letter from London, of the same date.

On Friday last, the queen was at her first mass in Whitehall, which was mumbled over to her majesty at eleven of the clock, what time she came out of her bedchamber in her petticoat, with a veil upon her head, supported by the Count de Tilliers, her lord chamberlain, and followed by six women. Whilst they were at mass, the king took order, that no Englishmen or women should come near the place; and the like order shall hereafter be observed in other places.

These priests have been very importunate to have the chapel finished at St. James's, but they find the king very slow in doing that. His answer (some told me) was, that if the queen's closet, where they now say mass, were not large enough, let them have it in the great chamber; and if the great chamber was not wide enough, they might use the garden; and if the garden would not serve their turn, then was the park the fittest place. So, seeing themselves slighted, they grow weary of England, and wish themselves at home again. Besides, unto the king's devotions they cannot add, nor with all their stratagems can bring him in the least love with their fopperies.

On Saturday, his majesty, with the crown on his head, (though not as yet crowned) made a speech in the Upper House to the Lords and Commons; but, before he would enter into the business, he caused a bishop to say prayers,

¹ Regular friars; distinguished from seculars, who did not belong to any religious order.

² Rector of St. Peter's, in London, and elected professor of divinity in Gresham College, 28th November, 1629.

before the beginning whereof, he made the door suddenly to be shut, and so enforced the popish lords to be present; some whereof kneeled down, some stood upright, and one did nothing but cross himself. His majesty, at the beginning, and the end of the speech, vailed his crown, and so did never King James.

The House of Commons, joining this day with the Lords, have obtained from his majesty that a general fast shall be kept throughout England. 1. To give God thanks for the happy succession of his majesty after his father. 2. That his Divine Majesty be pleased to cease the plague. 3rd and lastly, to give good success to the fleet. About the obtaining of this, they sent this morning forty of the house, to whom his majesty's answer was, that, when he had consulted with the lords spiritual and temporal, he would give a speedy and effectual answer.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, June 25, 1625.

John West is so thankful a man for your favours showed to his kinsman, that he doth nothing but load me with courtesies and compliments, that I am driven to tell him that I must not with the burgomasch take upon me to be the organist, when I am but blower of the bellows. And his nephew, Captain Sibthorpe, is not behindhand in making profession how far he is bound to you and my lady, and how much at your service. Harry Fanshaw is likewise come home, as wise as he went, but yet as welcome to his friends as the prodigal child; in whose behalf I must present his mother's thankful acknowledgments.

Though the sickness increase shrewdly upon us, so that this week died in all 640; of the plague, 239; and though this term be abridged to the three first days, and the three last, yet we cannot find in our hearts to leave this town, as long as such doings, by reason of the queen's arrival, and the sitting of the parliament.

The feast that should have been on Sunday, by occasion of the queen's indisposition, or that all was not ready, was deferred till Tuesday, when the publication and confirma-

tion of the articles was solemnized in the Great Room at Whitehall, where also the ambassador and all the French were then feasted, but neither king nor queen present, nor likewise the next night at York House, whither they were all invited by the Duke of Buckingham, and entertained with such magnificence and prodigal plenty, both for curious cheer and banquet, that the like hath not been seen in these parts. One rare dish came by mere chance: a sturgeon, full six feet long, that afternoon leaping into a sculler's boat, not far from the place, was served in at supper. In all these shows and feastings here hath been such excessive bravery on all sides, as bred rather a surfeit than any delight in them that saw it. And it were more fit, and would have become us to compare and dispute with such pompous kind of people in iron and steel, than in gold and jewels, wherein we came not near them.

The queen hath brought, they say, such a poor, pitiful sort of women, that there is not one worth the looking after, saving herself and the Duchess of Chevreuse, who, though she be fair, yet paints foully.¹ Among her priests, you would little look for Monsieur Lancy, that went ambassador to Constantinople when we were at Venice, and is become a *padre del oratorio*. I doubted poverty or desperation had driven him to it, but they say he is rich and hath good means.

Six score thousand pounds of her dowry is come along with the queen, which will work no great effect, if it be true that fifty thousand pounds of it be allotted to the Earls of Carlisle² and Holland for their services, and that she require thirty thousand to distribute among her servants. We were in hopes the best part of them would have been packing away the next week, but she hath persuaded and prevailed with the duke and his lady that she shall lie in here, which cannot be but to our great charge and incommodity.

In the mean time, there is much urging and spurring the

¹ This lady chose to astonish the English people by swimming across the Thames | one sultry evening.

² He was, what would now be termed, one of the most fashionable men of his day, and equally distinguished himself as a statesman and diplomatist.

parliament for supply and expedition, in both which they will prove somewhat rusty, though there be much cause and necessity for both. It began the 18th of this month. The king's speech was short, and the lord keeper's not long. Among other things, he told them they had drawn him into a war, and they must find means to maintain it; and that they need not doubt nor suspect his religion, seeing he was brought up at the feet of Gamaliel. At the presenting of their speaker, Serjeant Crew, on Monday, he was answered by the lord keeper to his notion touching jesuits, priests, and recusants, that they must leave that wholly to the king's direction, both for matter, manner, and time.

Since, they have busied themselves much about a fast, and appointing three preachers for it against this day. How it goes on, I know not; but yesterday they were with the king about it, who told them they should hear very shortly from him. They begin to mutter about matters of religion, that the king promised them, when he was prince, that he would never contract a marriage with conditions derogatory to that we profess. They desire to understand what hath passed in that point; and the keeping of them close makes them suspect the more. Some spare not to say there that all goes backward since this connivance in religion came in, both in our wealth, honour, valour, and reputation, and that it is visibly seen God blesses nothing that we take in hand. Whereas, in Queen Elizabeth's time, who stood firm in God's cause, all things did flourish. Others complain that matters are all managed, and call for an account of the moneys and men that have been already employed: and it seems they glance and aim at somebody for misleading and carrying his rider away.¹

Your Dutch ambassadors are come, and have had audience. They lodge all with the Lieger, who hath hired Sir Edward Cecil's House for £140 a-year; and Sir Edward lies at an apothecary's over the way.

A lioness hath whelped in the Tower, which some take as a presage that all things are like to succeed as in the

¹ This "somebody" is of course the reigning favourite, Buckingham.

former time; the beginnings of both in so many circumstances concurring and(jumping so just.)

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, June 25, 1625.

There died at London, this week, in all 640; whereof, of the plague, 239; parishes infected, 32. There died, within the walls, but 30; but in Shoreditch, Whitechapel, and two parishes in Southwark, 115 of the plague.

The king's speech is in the town, but I have not yet lighted upon it. The copy is imperfect, and very short, and the relaters tell it as imperfectly. It concerns these two particulars: first, religion, of his sincerity wherein and resolution to persist constant he assured them; secondly, the great business, whereof, he said, they formerly had made him the instrument to his father to set on foot; and therefore, being their own work, the dishonour would lie upon them, if it were not supplied and followed.

The great feast at Whitehall was on Tuesday, where is unspeakable bravery; but the Duke of Chevreuse put down ours.

On Friday was sennight at night, the king was much dejected by a letter received from Denmark, which, having opened, the first words he met with being "Christian V., Rex Daniæ et Norvegix," &c., made him verily believe his uncle, Christian IV., had been dead; so that he flung away the letter, and would read no more, but retired himself, till some of the nobility, perusing it, perceived his error, for the kingdom being elective, the king's son being chosen successor in his father's lifetime, and now ruling in his absence, bears the title of king, and wrote this complimentary letter to ours.

They talk at London of an ambassador come from the States to our king, to complain of the new Prince of Orange, as favouring the Arminians, and feared not to be loyal to their State, and therefore desire ours to take the protection of them. But I believe it not. Though I know they will do much to obtain an opinion.

Dr. Meddus to the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, June 30th, 1625.

Yesterday morning, be come hither, riding post all night, the eight masters of the eight ships that are gone to serve the French king, leaving their mates to guard well the ships in the mean time. These men have been with the duke, to inform his grace to know the king's pleasure, and to excuse themselves from fighting against their brethren in religion, should they suffer to be that way employed; for a French duke was on board them, greatly feasted them all, and afterwards feasted the masters again most sumptuously, as if they had been great princes. Then being risen, he dealt with a part of them, told them the king, his master, would greatly reward them; and, meanwhile, had sent unto each a fair chain of gold of an hundred marks a-piece, to dismiss half their sailors, and to take into each ship two hundred soldiers (at first he would have had four hundred), and to fight against Rochelle and Soubise, which they refused, and thereupon came to acquaint the State therein.

The House of Commons fasted not on Saturday last, but it was by his majesty's orders deferred till Saturday now following, when both houses are to do it, though apart; the lords at Westminster church, two bishops preaching unto them, an earl, a bishop, and a baron, appointed to take notes of them that are absent. The Commons hold it where before it was proposed, at St. Margaret's near Westminster.

Yesterday evening were we of the clergy covenanted before my lord of London, and there had also order for two sermons the same day, besides prayers; and to continue it every Wednesday during this visitation, as a form in a book is prescribed.

Dr. Meddus to the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, Friday, July 1st, 1625.

The House of Commons, as upon yesterday, gave his majesty freely, without any condition, two subsidies, but

without fifteenths; the former payable by the end of October next, and the second by the end of next April; and that notwithstanding, they could not plead amendment for manifold abuses in the State, merely for the king's honour and safety of the kingdom; yet protesting that, hereafter, a subsidy shall be the last thing in their consideration, namely, after they have despatched all other business.

Some two days ago, all the English that attended upon the queen, being Protestants, were dismissed by her officers, because they will admit of none but Papists; and the king, on the other side, will suffer no English Papists to serve her, or come to her masses.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, July 2nd, 1625.

I saw the bill last night for London, wherein the total sum of burials this week¹ is 942, whereof of the plague, 370, which is a strange reckoning, the whole sum being increased 302 since the former week, and the increase of the plague to be but just half that sum. Are there some other diseases as bad and spreading as the plague, or is there untrue dealing in the account? Parishes infected, 50; within the walls, died of the plague, 57; but within walls and liberties together, 126. Lord have mercy upon them and us! I am told that my Lord Russell² being to go to parliament, had his shoemaker to pull on his boots, who fell down dead of the plague in his presence; whereupon he abstains from that honourable assembly, and hath sent the Lords word of this accident.

They talk of divers bills in the parliament house, as against the universities, pluralities of benefices, about disposition of prebends to such as want other preferment, and mending of vicarages out of the impropriations; against Montagu and his late book,³ &c. But some say they will grant no subsidies till the king hath given his assent to a

¹ "The bills are made up on Thursdays."—*Note of Mr. Mead.*

² Francis Lord Russell, of Thornhaugh, who, on the death of Edward, Earl of Bedford, 3rd May, 1627, became the fourth earl.

³ Apollo Cæsarem. A just appeal from two unjust Informers. By Richard Montagu Bishop of Norwich. 4to. London. 1625.

farther suppression of all popish recusants and disinheriting of them, which his majesty for the present distastes.

The friars so frequent the queen's private chamber that the king is much offended, and so told them, having (as it is said) granted them more than sufficient liberty in public. This Mr. Mordaunt writes to me, and, besides, that which follows: — "The queen," saith he, "howsoever little of stature, is of spirit and vigour, and seems of a more than ordinary resolution. With one frown, divers of us being at Whitehall to see her being at dinner, and the room somewhat overheated with the fire and company, she drove us all out of the chamber. I suppose none but a queen could have cast such a scowl."¹

Sir James Ramseay and Colonel Gray have letters of exchange to take up £10,000, and with it to levy four thousand Scots, whom Mansfield seems more to like than the English, because more hardy; the English which he took at Christmas being for the greatest part dead.

The Duke of Chevreuse will shortly go away with the French troops, they standing the king in £240 a day. There is no good news out of France between the Protestants and their king.

Our fair is broken up, and yet (thanks be to God) we hear nothing of the plague.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, July 9th, 1625.

Mr. Howlett, I hope, delivered our intelligence on Wednesday, both what was written and what I told him upon newer relation. Henceforth, you must not look to be supplied as you were wont. The plague is in the doctor's² parish, and the rest of our intelligence is fled, and it grows very dangerous on both sides to continue an intercourse of letters, not knowing what hands they pass through, before they come to those to whom they are sent.

¹ We do not discover this characteristic sketch of Henrietta Maria in any biography; although we find due justice done to her majesty's talent in breaking windows; which was rather more demonstrative of queenly rage than could have been the look that so frightened her husband's courtiers.

² St. Gabriel Fenchurch, of which Dr. Meddus was rector.

Our Hobson¹ and the rest should have been forbidden this week, but that the message came too late. Howsoever, it is his last.

The bills are this week for London :—

All burials	1222
Whereof of the plague	593
Of which within the walls	109
Within the walls and liberties	221
Parishes infected	57

It is true, that the plague was broken out in the pantry, the king's baker's son dying thereof on Sunday; and another, a woman, then sick, and sent away, died yesterday. (The bread was all given away.) Mr. Boswell told me yesterday that he was informed that one of the king's scholars of Westminster school was dead thereof, but carried thence sick some two or three days before he died; that my lord keeper hereupon had broken up house, using to sup and dine in the same room the scholars did. We suppose also that the parliament is, ere this, broken up, and we talk since yesterday that the king should have given them extraordinary content, especially for matters of religion. We are yet, God be thanked, free of the plague here; nay, fewer burials and tolling of bells than all this year before.

and the
bread was
given away
chance

I shall not stir from Cambridge, unless a day or two to Sir John Mead's,² till after St. James's day; then I shall trouble you, and would willingly spend my chiefest stay at Dalham, if Norfolk would let me alone, that I might not hoit it up and down farther than Queddenham. But I cannot be quiet, though God knows I have but little joy. I wonder what they ail, to make a fat man take such journeys to eat roast meat.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, July 16th, 1625.

The parliament, on Monday morning, was adjourned till the 1st of August, then to be held at Oxford. To four

¹ The famous carrier of Cambridge, on whose death, which happened 1st January, 1630, Milton wrote the verses beginning,

"Here lies old Hobson; death hath broke his girt."

² At Loft's Hall in Essex.

laws, the king (saith mine author) hath set to his hand—namely, first to that for observation of the Sabbath; to a second, for a reasonable and set fee for alienations of land; to a third, concerning petty larceny; and to a fourth, that all killing in inns, alehouses, and taverns, shall be construed wilful murder. To their petition against recusants, his majesty answers, that how great and how singular care he will have thereof shall appear by his strict putting the laws in execution.

Sir John Corbett¹ told me at Sir John Mead's, on Monday, that this meeting was no session, and that an act passed to that purpose. That they had granted two subsidies (before any such thing was propounded from the king), and that freely without any condition of bestowing it; but all recusants to pay four subsidies or double to Protestants. That the last day he was there, which was Friday, the king of his own accord sent them a particular account of the expense of the last meeting about the navy and payment of soldiers; signified unto them, that though the navy had cost him much, yet had it cost the King of Spain five times as much to provide for it; also cleared Mansfield from any fault in the loss of our men, most of them dying of sickness, and some of them perishing by default of others, who failed to perform what was agreed and expected. He signified, moreover, unto them, that the French, according to the imputation of levity laid upon them by their neighbours, began to grow weary of Italy. That the emperor with the holy league were about to assemble at Ulm, there to deprive the prince palatine's posterity utterly of all claim in the empire, and to root out our religion therein.

Our fleet now falls down apace into the Downs, and makes all haste possible to be gone.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, July 17th, 1625.

We had a letter yesterday from Dr. Meddus unexpected, which contained nothing almost but lamentation and desire

¹ He was a baronet, and member of parliament for Yarmouth, in Norfolk.

of our prayers; himself being left alone with one man and a maid, resolved to abide by it, though already five houses were infected in his little¹ parish; whereupon he relates two particulars in these words following:—

“ One (saith he) in Leadenhall Street removed into the country with his seven children, but having buried them all there, is come again hither. An old Mr. Balmford (saith he) told me yesterday evening, as sundry others have, that a woman near Old Swan, removing into Surrey for fear of the plague, when she was come on the hill near Streatham, in the way to Croydon, turned back, looked on the city, and said ‘ Farewell, London, and farewell, plague; ’ but soon after was taken sick, had the tokens on her breast, and these words to be distinctly² read, ‘ It is in vain to fly from God, for He is everywhere.’ ”

“ The parliament is adjourned to Oxford, where the students are to be dismissed, and both houses of parliament and the convocation may be lodged and dieted in the colleges.

“ The French duke³ goes hence to-day (July 15th) from Richmond for France, his duchess to abide still there, to be delivered.

“ It is no time now to inquire of foreign occurrences, only the States have here advice, that, at the beginning of May, the bay of Todas las Santos was yet theirs.” Thus the doctor.

This is the last day of our sermons at St. Mary’s; and on Wednesday, the public fast of the whole university is held at King’s College chapel; thenceforth both it and Sunday sermons to be several and private in each college, which will somewhat abridge my liberty this vacation time. We have this morning some suspicion, as though there were one dead of the plague in the town who came hither but last night; but I hope it is not true, for we suspect almost everybody that dies. The university is yet very full of scholars, whereat I much wonder.

¹ It contained in 1759 about eighty-five houses.

² “ You may judge of this, or suspend, as you shall see cause.”—*Note by Mr. Mead.*

³ De Chevreuse.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, July 30th, 1625.

Hoping to be at Dalham on Monday, I shall need write the less. Blessed be God, we are yet well at Cambridge.

The burials at London are this week, 3583; whereof they bring of the plague, 2471; so that there remain 1112 for other diseases, that is, for the invisible plague, for so I take near 1000 of that sum to be. You may see by the note I sent you at the commencement, how much this plague, for the time and number, surpasses that of 1603. August is called the month of corruption, which is not yet come; Lord, what will become of the distressed city then? Remember, O Lord, thy wonted mercies, and take pity upon their affliction. * * * * * Concerning the former week, we are here certainly informed that there died in Westminster, Stepney, and Lambeth, &c. (places never counted in the bill), near 840. Whereby you may guess what number is like to have died in the same places this week.

I send you a corrant brought me besides expectation and almost against my will; but it was well aired and smoked before I received it, as all our letters used to be; nor was the plague then at St. Paul's Churchyard, whence it came.

The Duchess of Chevreuse is brought to bed at Richmond of a daughter, and a French countess of a son.

The Dunkirkers arrest our ships and imprison our men, for those ships Sir Francis Stuart took in the Downs.

It is true that the masters, fellows, heads and principals, and students, at Oxford are, by letters of the council, commanded away, for the better accommodating the parliament.

One of the king's guard died of the plague at Windsor about last Saturday, whereupon the king, being not far thence, returned no more thither, as he was purposed.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, August 27, 1625.

I cannot choose but write, though I have little, yea, nothing, to write of. I thank you for my late entertainment. I send you the bill; where you shall find the sickness abated 364. It is strange to see it thus answer the former plague, which abated the self-same week, and near the self-same number, but increased, the next week after, to the highest sum. If this should be so too, it would be more wonderful; for I fear this abatement is rather for want of matter than otherwise, for it is only without the walls; but within the walls, it is increased about 160, as I guess you shall know by comparing the bills.

The last news of the king was, that he was at Beaully,¹ near the Isle of Wight, and that he stays in those parts till the fleet be gone.

As I came here, I met the Norwich carrier, who told me that the number of burials in Norwich, the last week, was 77, whereof 67 of the plague, and but 14 of the plague the week before.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Cambridge, September 4, 1625.

I cannot but continue my wonted course, though my provision be not as it was wont.

Blessed be God, the plague is this week, at London, abated near a thousand, and the abatement general, which argues the strength of the infection assuaged. I had no mind to send you a bill, finding of late that there is danger in them. I know a father, whose eldest son, in the great week, died in his arms of the plague, though not in his own house, who hath yet ever since continued to send to a son of his in our college weekly, a bill enclosed in a letter; and, yesterday, wrote to him, he had a child dead and his wife fallen sick; whereupon the poor boy, a bachelor, suspects his father's house is infected, though he

¹ Beaulieu, in the New Forest.

expressed not so much in his letter. I advised him to be wary; howsoever, the carrier perfumes all. But we have many bills stirring, from what hands God knows; the particulars whereof are these:—

From August 25 to September 1.	
Buried in all the ninety-seven parishes within the walls	1360
Whereof of the plague	1144
Buried in the sixteen parishes without the walls, part within and part without the liberties	1688
Whereof of the plague	1439
Buried in the nine out-parishes	846
Whereof of the plague	761
Total sum of all the burials	3897
Whereof of the plague	3344
Parishes clear, but	5
Christenings	117

We have some here make an observation, that the first abatement of the plague was the week next following that wherein came out the proclamation against the papists; and it is true by the date thereof. But let me add my observation too—that, as the walls of Jericho then fell down, when the priests with the ark of God had accomplished it, blowing trumpets seven days, or times, so is the fall of the sickness after the seventh general fast, accounting that general representative ark of the whole parliament for one.

There hath been a brief, by order of parliament, read in our churches for the relief of the distressed poor in London and the towns by it. It is like that for the redemption of the captives at Argier, signifying the example of the parliament, where every one above the degree of a boor gave forty shillings, the rest twenty. It orders that the rates of the poor in London should be doubled, and the houses charged whose inhabitants are fled; the treasurer of the chamber at London to lay out £1000, at least till it can be gathered; a collection through the whole kingdom, that which is gathered being written on the back of the brief, to be published by the churchwarden in the open congregation; the minister to carry it to the dean to be appointed in every deanery, the dean to his ordinary, so, at length, to the Bishop of London, who shall appoint the proportioning of the distribution of it by advice of another bishop and two lords of parliament.

Whilst the king lay at Beaulieu, in the New Forest, the queen lay at Titchfield, some fourteen miles off, in a house of the Earl of Southampton. Mr. Croftes, the courtier, came hither on Tuesday night, and told some fellows of Trinity that he had letters from court, that the king was to be at Woodstock on Thursday, whither he was going to meet him. It is said he will lie in Northamptonshire this winter.

Agues grow wonderfully rife both here and everywhere; so that one told me, yesterday, that, about Royston and Barkway, they wanted help to gather their harvest out of the fields.

I design to be at Dalham come Monday next sennight. I cannot sooner. I have performed twice, and must again to-morrow sennight. But I think I shall find the time long, and be forced to you for want of victuals. All our markets to-day would not supply us commons for a night. I am steward, and am fain to appoint eggs, apple-pies, and custards, for want of other fare. They will suffer nothing to come from Ely. Fels are absolutely forbidden to be brought to our market; so are roots. You see what it is to have a physician among the heads.

We cannot have leave scarce to take the air. We have but one master of arts in our college this week; he was punished ten shillings for giving the porter's boy a box on the ear, because he would not let him out at the gates. You may by this gather I have small solace with being here, and therefore will haste all I can to be in a place of more liberty and society; for I have never a pupil at home. And yet, God be thanked, our town is free from so much as the very suspicion of infection.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, 10th September, 1625.

I may write the less now, hoping on Monday to be again at Dalham, to see how forward the steeple is. For the bill of sickness, at London, it is thus:—

Burials in the ninety-seven parishes within the walls	1216
Whereof of the plague	859

Burials in the sixteen parishes without the walls, partly in and partly out of the liberties	1306
Whereof of the plague	1056
Burials in the nine out-parishes	726
Whereof of the plague	636
Sum total of all burials	3157
Whereof of the plague	2550

So that it is fallen since last week, within the walls, 234; in the whole number, 740; for which God be blessed. I have gathered a bill of twenty weeks, which here I send you; the total whereof is almost 40,000; viz., 39,569—that is 2000 for every week.

I saw, the last week, a letter from the doctor, dated September 1; wherein he signifies his preservation hitherto, and wonderfully deploras the state of the city, whereof one passage is this; viz. :—“The want and misery is the greatest here that ever any man living knew: no trading at all; the rich all gone; housekeepers and apprentices of manual trades begging in the streets, and that in such a lamentable manner as will make the strongest heart to yearn.”

A gentleman, who, on Thursday was sennight, came through the city at one o'clock in the afternoon, resembled the face thereof, at that time, to the appearance it useth to have at three of the clock in the morning, in the month of June; no more people stirring, no more shops open.

I shall need to tell you of the sudden march of our trainmen in Essex, on Monday morning, to Harwich and Tilbury; the warrant coming to the most but on Saturday morning. We hear the like was done in Suffolk, at least about Ipswich, &c. On Tuesday, the justices came to see our provision here, and of ninety barrels of powder found never a grain; of arms for 100 men, scarce for twenty, and that altogether unserviceable; the spikes all without heads; and the keeper, one day, ran away against their coming, and is not heard of yet.

What the reason of this hurly-burly was, they talked diversely; most agreed upon fear of an invasion by Spinola's forty ships (some say twenty-five and sixty frigates) being discovered near our shore; to whom a pinnace or two, being sent to know what they intended, returned not again, and such like. In Essex, it was added in all the country

over, that our king (whom God bless) was dead; the women crying and howling, as if Tilbury camp were to come again. The Earl of Warwick¹ rode 120 miles that Saturday, and near Harwich his horse fell with him and hurt his shoulder. With us it hath been a wondrous rumour all this week, that his majesty was sick of the plague, and had a sore, but, by the merciful favour of God, and the diligence of his surgeons and physicians, was now past danger and well recovered. Till yesterday, I thought it a thing incredible, and laughed at it as an idle rumour, till I heard Mr. Crane, Reading, Tabor, Dr. Ward, by name, and other of our heads, averred it as true, which made me stagger in unbelief. It is added, that when he first began to be sick (which, they say, was three weeks since), Spinola had notice given of his danger by some ill patriots, and thence was encouraged to adventure our shore, if it were but to interrupt the successor. And by this means and discovery of false play, was this commotion and likewise his majesty's sickness known, otherwise intended to have been kept secret. If this should be true, it were not fit it should pass through our thoughts as a light matter, and would cause us to re-examine the causes of this plague amongst us; that the rather, because I hear not those reports of plagues in France and Spain confirmed, and asked some who I thought should know, whom I found to have heard nothing, but of Constantinople, where it is no wonder.

The story of our eight ships which went, returned, and all, save one, are sent back again to serve the French, I shall tell you on Monday.

PS.—I hear that a gentleman came to town last night wondered at this report of the king's sickness, affirming that he had been at court within this week, and was sure that, for three weeks before, the king went almost daily out hunting. I hear, also, that Mr. Tabor now confesseth he received a letter newly, that the king was never sick; that a post came to town from the king for ten ministers for the navy.

¹ Robert Rich, second earl.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, October 3, 1625.

After my best thanks and service remembered, I found a letter written to a friend of mine, Fellow of Bennet College, from a brother of his, then at the court, at Tichfield, whose contents are as follows:—

“Tichfield, Hampshire, September 24.—On Sunday, the 18th of this instant, there preached at the queen’s court, before the officers Protestants, the minister of that town. In the middle of his sermon, the queen, with her lord chamberlain and ladies of honour, came through that congregation, and made such a noise, as was admired, insomuch that the preacher was at a stand, and demanded whether he might proceed or no, but they still went on; and they passed through the hall where the sermon was preaching, and went to the court gates, and before the sermon was ended returned the same way back again, with a greater noise and disorder than before. It is said, the queen was set on to do it by her bishop, confessor, and priests. Upon the Tuesday following, the minister, walking in his garden, was shot at with hail-shot, which did miss him miraculously, it alighting about him. The party who shot at him is taken; but they know not what will come of it, till the king return back from Plymouth to them. There are brought into Plymouth three great long boats full of Dunkirkers, who were upon the coast of Sussex, found sounding the depth of our channel; yet they would excuse it by saying they were chased by Hollanders, and fled thither for relief. But they are all in prison, and lie at the king’s mercy.” Is not this a strange piece?

The last week, ending September 29, was the bills for London:—All burials, 1236; plague, 852. So it fell of the former, in all, 758; plague, 699. All here I find well, God be thanked; but our St. Mary’s sermons and term in town are adjourned a month longer; they of the lower house say, lest the doctors, out of custom and decency, might be forced to preach at the fast, as it was the wont while it was public. But the beadles desired

they might have, notwithstanding their fees for disses, as if they were kept; but the senior regent, being of King's College, stopped the grace in the head, saying, it was no reason but the beadles should bear their part in the common calamity as well as others.

I hear, just now, that two houses were shut up at Royston, on Thursday, for the plague, and the infected translated into the fields. One of those who died was a child, and near had all the neighbours been present, sent for by the father; but that the spots suddenly appeared, and so the danger prevented by a counter necessary.

At Trumpington hath died three—one Peck, his wife, and maid.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, October 8, 1625.

We are yet well here, God be thanked. The bill from London is as followeth:—

October 6.

The ninety-seven parishes within the walls	}	Burials	288
		Plague	199
The sixteen parishes without the walls, part in, part out, of the liberties	}	Burials	299
		Plague	174
The nine out-parishes	}	Burials	251
		Plague	165
The total sum of all burials			838
Whereof of the plague			538

So it is decreased, since last week, 400, wanting 2. God be blessed. Parishes clear, 23; infected, 99. St. John's Evangelist yet scapes. St. Martin's-in-the-Fields is the greatest number, being of plague 41.

The return from the East Indies, so much as arrived, is valued at £300,000.

The Swede slew of the Polacs, in Liveland, as Dr. Weemes tells me, from his ambassador's (Sir James Spenser, a Scottishman born) own mouth, 17,000. That king offereth, by his ambassador, to come in person into the empire, with 30,000 men, if the king will pay the third part of them; to which, they say, he hath yielded, and the ambassador despatched before his going to Plymouth. Another suit of the King of Sweden to ours

was, in behalf of Mr. Ruthen, that he might be restored to the honours of his predecessors.

Besides that pretty business of the preacher at Tichfield, Dr. Weemes tells me another like it, which happened while he was at court there, some weeks since, viz. :— That the king and queen dining together in the presence, Mr. Hacket¹ being then to say grace, the confessor would have prevented him, but that Hacket shoved him away. Whereupon the confessor went to the queen's side, and was about to say grace again, but that the king, pulling the dishes unto him, and the carvers falling to their business, hindered. When the dinner was done, he thought, standing by the queen, to have been before Mr. Hacket; but Mr. Hacket again got the start. The confessor, nevertheless, begins his grace as loud as Mr. Hacket, with such a confusion, that the king, in a great passion, instantly rose from the table, and, taking the queen by the hand, retired into the bedchamber. Was not this a priestly discretion?²

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, October 15 [1625].

I received a letter from Mr. Pory since his return from Harwich; he desired me to write the contents thereof to Sir Robert Cotton³ in his name. I wrote that which followeth, but without a preface, till I should be sure of the opportunity of a messenger, whereof having failed in due time, I send that to you, which should have gone to him, being glad my providence was such as to leave a blank in the beginning, though otherwise you should have had the original itself; but hear what he says. Thus he writes :—

“ October 8.—That coming to Harwich to see my Lord of Warwick, and to kiss his hands, no sooner had he done his duty to his lordship, but he told peremptorily that

¹ John Hacket, educated in Trinity College, Cambridge, Chaplain to the Lord Keeper Williams, Rector of St. Andrew's, Holborn; and, in December, 1661, made Bishop of Litchfield and Coventry. He died October 28, 1670, aged 79.

² Nothing could exceed the turbulence of the young queen's ghostly counsellors, except, perhaps, that of their weak and headstrong mistress.

³ The celebrated antiquarian.

upon Saturday, October 1st, he must go with all possible speed to the court for him, which he did, finding it at Wilton on Sunday, and at Salisbury on Monday, where he left it; namely, their majesties and the lords. On Wednesday morning, before day, he was returned to the camp, with letters to dissolve it; but what joy and acclamation there was, he had rather I should imagine than he express

“ At his being at court, he understood his majesty had left my Lord Duke¹ at Plymouth, to order the going forth of the fleet, and to ransack the seven ships sent in by Sir Samuel Argall, who was then pursuing the wafers, whereof one was a Dunkirker, of forty pieces of ordnance, who, being hailed, said he would rather burn or sink than yield; but they will have him or sink by him, if tempest or some other accident do not hinder. The value of these ships was, at his being at Salisbury, estimated but at £100,000, and therefore it was a disputable question whether they should be made prizes or no; yet some said there were heavy packs of wool, which were thought to have rich entrails.”

“ Sir Edward Cecil² (now Viscount Wimbleton) is general both by sea and land, and so hath the greatest command that any subject hath had (he supposeth) these hundred years.

“ Monsieur de Soubise, being beaten by the French king's forces at sea (whereof the prime were those seven English ships, manned wholly with French, whose countenance carried the victory), retired into Plymouth with four sail, while his majesty was there, but came not to the speech of his majesty, only he spake with the lords, who imparted the king's mind. Upon this overthrow, Rochelle is now besieged both by sea and land, and so in worse case than either when Henry III. lay before it, or formerly in the king's time; and yet wise men are of opinion that the French king will be drawn to a composition, they of the town being victualled for two years.

“ The King of Denmark hath had the better of Tilly in all skirmishes and enterprises whatsoever, so that now, at length, it seemeth victory begins to incline on our side.

¹ Buckingham.

² A younger son of the Earl of Exeter.

That my Lord Duke and my Lord of Holland at their return were presently to go ambassadors into Holland, to ratify the league offensive and defensive between his majesty and that commonwealth, lately agreed upon at Southampton, which, they say, is the strictest that ever was concluded between us and them. That Spinola having brought his ships without the haven and town of Dunkirk into the road, under the favour of the Skonce, hath made three attempts to get out, but hath been beaten back by the Hollanders, they being extremely jealous of him for their isle of Cassund; which being lost, Sluys cannot hold out.

“At Langar Point,¹ on the Suffolk side of Harwich harbour, there shall ride in the narrowest of the channel two or three of the king’s ships, for the guard of those places. Two engineers are come out of Holland to fortify Harwich, which by their art might be made very strong; but the king wanting money, he thinketh that the other more compendious course by ships of war will be taken.

“That the court (if the plague enter not) will continue long time at Salisbury. The term, it was said, should be kept at Reading, &c.”

The sickness at London stands this week at a stay, the total, 815; the plague, 511; so the total is abated but 25; the plague, 27. Yet I saw a letter from London making very glad that it was so much, whereas they feared an increase, by reason of the wonderful number of people in the city. Mr. Pory writes also, that in his passing through he found the streets full of people, and the highways of passengers—horse and foot.

Soubise, I am told, was committed to Mr. Paulet’s house in Somersetshire, with what liberty I know not; but there is a French ambassador coming; and most men think to move our king to deliver him into the French king’s hands as a rebel; but I hope he will be so wise as to get away before that; for they say his majesty told him, at first, that he was a rebel to his king, and, if he sent, he must deliver him.

¹ Now Languard Fort.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, October 19, 1625.

The doctor, whatever the matter is, hath not written this month, so our news is very scant. I sent you a bill of the plague.

Sir Francis Steward is still behind, and went not after the fleet; he is now presently to have another command over some forty sail for some other service. His ship drew twenty-four feet of water in twenty-four hours; all was not right; the seams of the ship uncalked in some places a yard together, and no oakum, &c. The fleet will have great want of him, being the only man of skill and experience almost who could give direction at sea for such a navy. The companies for land were not full, there went but £7000; the coal carvels but weakly manned; victualled, when they went out, but for three months; and for want of drink, beverage to make supply of beer. The under captains knew not at the going out where they were to have their rendezvous, so that, if they be cast off, or lose the fleet, they know not where to find it. Two ships, cast off eight days, went again from Falmouth to seek them; one, a horse-ship, stayed behind, which had some twenty horses, three whereof they had cast overboard; they could not follow, having received some hurt; but their want (the fleet having had in all but some forty horses) may prove disadvantage; they were forced to go out in a misty evening, when they could not see a half stone's cast from them. The seamen much discontented that they were urged thus against the usual advice at sea in the very beginning. You must not ask me whence I had this, but of one that was an eyewitness of all, so that it is like to be more true than I wish it were.

The king hath no such packets from the fleet as was supposed and talked; only last Tuesday at night, a master of a Dutch skipper came to court and told the king that, as he came from the straits, he saw the fleet plying to and again over against the mouth of Lisbon river, but it is feared to be too strong for them. Their design was either for it or Cadiz, St. Maryport, or St. Lucar; the latter

may be more easily taken, and if it be with the charge of such a fleet, as some say it is not.

I doubt you will hear that some part of the duke's business is to dispose of some jewels, I will not say of the crown, but you know want of money will do much.

There was lately a search, in Northamptonshire, in papists' houses for arms. Mr. Knightly with some other and a constable came to my Lord Vaux's house, and would have every trunk and box opened; one, my lord was very loth should be, and fell to expostulation, and therein swore two oaths, for which Mr. Knightly demanded two shillings. Mr. William Vaux, whose trunk it was, was by this time come in, and had his part in defence of his trunk; and, when my lord refused to pay the two shillings, Mr. Knightly charged the constable to strain two shillings' worth of goods. Mr. William Vaux took Mr. Knightly a blow on the face; a friend of Mr. Knightly seeing this, and preparing to defend him, my lord struck him on the head with a hawking staff, and after some more scuffling, Mr. Knightly, &c., departed; complained to the council where my lord and his brother were on Sunday at night, last (the king himself being present) censured to the Fleet, and accordingly committed to so base a prison; and besides Mr. Knightly shall enter an action against him in the star-chamber. The king, as he rose from the council-table, said, *Now he shall have work enough*; meaning he should not seek employment at Bergen. Mr. Knightly is to be sheriff.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, October 22, 1625.

I will begin with the sickness at London, whereof the bill gives us this account:—

Week ending October 20th.

In the ninety-seven parishes within the walls	{	In all	181
		Plague	98
In the sixteen parishes without the walls, part in, part out of the liberties	{	In all	270
		Plague	107
In the nine out-parishes	{	In all	200
		Plague	126
Parishes clear			46
Christenings			91
The total of all	{	Burials	651
		Plague	331

The greatest numbers are :—

Andrew, Holborn . . .	Burials, 33	Plague, 22
Bride's Pariah . . .	— 24	— 16
Saviour, Southwark . . .	— 32	— 10
Mary, Whitechapel . . .	— 44	— 30
Clement, Temple Bar . . .	— 53	— 43
Martin, Fields . . .	— 36	— 22

The doctor wrote from London, last week, that our fleet put to sea in three companies on Saturday, Sunday, and Monday, the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd of this month; but, by other reports and letters, it was not out of sight of land, and so not accounted gone, till Wednesday following. Howsoever, it is here general news this week, both written from London, and told from court, that the great tempest on Thursday, October 13th, brought many of them back again to Plymouth, if not the most; and that the vice-admiral, the *Lion*, where Sir Francis Steward commanded, sprung a leak, and was with very great difficulty saved. Yet others say (but I think it is not true), that she struck on the ground and split, yet so, that all the men, ordnance, &c., were saved. That notwithstanding, the fleet put again to sea, leaving Sir Francis Steward behind to accommodate a merchant ship, and so to follow them; besides that of the ships which lay before Dunkirk, four of the *Hollanders* sunk downright, and our six were scattered, and so grievously handled that they cut all their masts, yet hardly escaped.

That the king and queen were then at Salisbury; that there was a French ambassador come to solicit to have and see the queen's house established. Sir John Barker reported here that some ships of ours had taken a great carrack, with whom six of them had fought so long, till their powder and shot failed; but, by the coming in of other ships, at length took her, and brought her into the Downs, about Thursday was sennight.

We have had much talk here of change of great officers; Viscount Andover,¹ master of the horse; Sir James Leigh, lord keeper; Lord Conway, lord treasurer; Earl Pembroke, high steward; and Earl Montgomery, chamberlain.

¹ Thomas Howard, second son of the Earl of Suffolk.

But yet there is no such thing done for aught I can learn, whatsoever is like to be.

Sir Thomas Gerrard, of the Brin, in Lancashire, a great recusant, who was chosen a burgess the last parliament of King James, but could not be found, though the house made much search for him, because he had not taken the oaths of allegiance, was lately, by mandate of the council, attached by the sheriff of the county, Mr. Holland, of Heaton, and in custody. The occasion was, two maids of his, washing clothes at a pit, fell a-talking together of the brave times that would be shortly for their religion; when Mr. Turner, a busy justice of peace, would be turned out of office, Mr. Horne, parson of Winnech, should have horns set upon his head, and the Bishop of Chester,¹ that bore himself so high, should be hoisted a peg higher to his little ease. "And my brother Robert," (Sir Thomas's groom) saith one to the other, "is one of those that must kill the king." This discourse being overheard by a pedlar, or some such loose fellow, who was lying sunning behind a hedge, he goes presently to an honest and substantial man of the town, one Prescott, and tells him what he heard Sir Thomas Gerrard's maids talking at the pit. He presently informs the parson, Mr. Allen; the parson writes to the Bishop of Chester; he to the lords of the council. They send a mandate to the sheriff to apprehend him, which he did on Monday was sennight; but, upon his request, for two days' respite, he took bail of £2000, that he should yield himself at the Bull at Manchester, the Tuesday night following. But he repented him, for Sir Thomas borrowed two days more, and came not in till Thursday night, to the sheriff's no small perplexity. He is now in the sheriff's custody, with a guard, lest he should escape, or be rescued. Related to me, by one (Mr. Moselay's tutor) who was then present, and understood the whole from the sheriff's own mouth. Yet the grounds are so feeble, that I think it will prove no great matter. I tell you this circumstantially, because there goes stranger reports abroad, but all false.

¹ Dr. John Bridgeman, advanced to that see in 1618.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, October 29, 1625.

I will begin with the best news first; the great decrease of the plague in respect of the proportion, and in a week that gave no reason to expect it. God Almighty be ever, ever praised for His mercy!

In the ninety-seven parishes within the walls	{ Burials	132
	{ Plague	44
In the sixteen parishes without the walls, but part within the liberties	{ Burials	130
	{ Plague	32
In the nine out-parishes	{ Burials	113
	{ Plague	58
The total of	{ Burials	375
	{ Plague	134
Christenings		77
Parishes clear		75
Parishes infected		47

Parishes of the greatest numbers:—

Clement, Temple Bar	Burials, 18	Plague, 11
Mary, Whitechapel	— 31	— 20
Martin, Fields	— 31	— 22

No parishes besides, of the plague above nine.

For other news, a doctor in town this week showed me a letter he newly had received from Salisbury from Sir Robert Carr of the bedchamber's secretary. The contents and date were as followeth, in these very words:—

“Salisbury, October 18th.—Not much news here, but that our fleet is gone on Saturday, the eighth of this month.

“There is talking here that there is a ship come home, which assures the king that the north-west passage is now found, which will be no small benefit to this nation. The lord keeper is to give up his office, and my lord treasurer shall succeed him. My lord chamberlain shall be lord treasurer; the Earl of Carlisle, chamberlain; my lord duke, steward; and Marquis of Hamilton, master of the horse. His majesty is to remove home on Wednesday, October 26th, and the queen on Monday before, being the 24th, towards Hampton Court.”

Thus that letter: but of my lord keeper, though some say it is already done, yet others say Sir George Goring is a vehement suitor to the duke in his behalf; and my lord himself hath condescended much more to the duke than

was expected; whereupon, some conceive there is yet some pause, though little hope.

The duke went from Walden yesterday was sennight, by my lord of Warwick's, towards Harwich; where it is said Sir George Goring met him, to be a suitor as aforesaid. The day before, as one present tells me, the drum was beat at Walden, to give notice to Captain Mordaunt's band to be ready at an hour's warning for Harwich. The like I hear was also done in other parts of Essex. I heard talk yesterday of some fear of an invasion about Yorkshire.

Some ships come lately from Newfoundland were presently marked for his majesty's service.

It is a general report in town all this week, that my Lord Bishop of Exeter's¹ house is visited with the plague; that three of his servants are dead, among them Mr. Fowler's son one; that himself removed awhile into his garden, and despatched business at a window; and is since removed four miles out of town. I heard it last week; but then I wrote not of it, as taking it for an idle rumour. What grounds they have since for it, I know not, though it be true the plague is grievous at Exeter.

PS. Mr. Reading since told me that it is true of my Lord Exeter's house, and that six were dead, whereof Fowler one; that the bishop himself and Mrs. Cary are removed out of the city; that Dr. Burnell's man (but, as he thought, by his master's direction) wrote so unto St. John's College, since the first report. The doctor was at Salisbury, and intended to have gone to my lord, but for this accident.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, November 5th, 1625.

I am very barren this week. The total of burials at London, 357; of the plague, 89. They say my lord duke, besides his business at the Hague, hath a general commission to treat with all princes for a league offensive and defensive against the house of Austria.

On Sunday last, were brought up the Thames to the

¹ Dr. Valentine Cary, Master of Christ's College.

Tower, some twenty of the ships which had been taken; which caused the city to assemble in infinite numbers, and all the ordnance at the Tower to be discharged for joy.

Sir Thomas Coventry is lord keeper;¹ Sir Robert Heath, the solicitor, is, or shall be, attorney; Sir Heneage Finch, the recorder, solicitor; Mr. Sheldon, (not Selden) recorder.

A company of Dunkirkers, they say, lie before Scarborough, in Yorkshire. Whither our fleet aims, we hear not; some will needs have it go to Lisbon, or that way.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, November 12th, 1625.

Sir—I have seen yet no letter from London this week. I must therefore fill up with such relations as I have.

The burials at London are fallen this week, in the whole sum, 38; but the plague is risen, 3. That you may the better understand where is the rise, I will compare the last and this week's bill together:—

	Nov. 3.		Nov. 10.	
	Bur.	Pla.	Bur.	Pla.
Ninety-seven parishes within the walls	98	29	78	26
Sixteen parishes, part in, part out of the liberties	152	25	135	{ 34
Nine out-parishes	107	35	106	{ risen 9
Total	357	89	319	92

Thus you see it is fallen everywhere, saving the 16 parishes, where the number of the plague, and that only, is risen 9. The parishes are, Andrew's, Holborn, where it is risen 5; Dunstan's West, and Giles', Cripplegate; in each of which it has risen 2. But the parishes infected are but 35, which is 6 less than was the former.

On Friday, at night, October 28th, the Duke of Buckingham came to Ipswich, and was met by their train-band; the captain being one of the portmen, a proper fellow, but not skilful in court ceremonies, as appeared when he took the duke by the hand, when he should have kissed it; and told his grace that here he might see how they were provided to entertain Spinola, if he came. Yet the duke sent him twenty pieces to make him and his men merry withal.

¹ He had the great seal delivered to him the 1st of November, 1625.

On Saturday and Sunday, the duke was private, and heard Mr. Ward preach; but on Monday, for four days, was very royal at his inn; his reckoning came to £370, which he made up £400, and paid it all in Spanish pistoles of 14s. He that told me saw 400 of them. The town sent him a banquet; the messenger he rewarded with ten pieces. There was with him the Earl of Warwick, Marquis of Hamilton, Lord Fielding,¹ &c. On Thursday, he went to Harwich, meaning to have taken ship the next day, but the wind served not till Saturday, when he went. There was an engineer with him while he was at Ipswich, to see how Langer Point might be fortified. Thus much for Suffolk, if I bring not owls to Athens.

There hath been, almost ever since the beginning of this month, a most impossible rumour that our fleet should have taken Lisbon. I was told by one that came from court at Theobalds, on Thursday, that the occasion of the report was this: a gentleman of the queen's family hath a brother in France, who, being at Madrid, there came news thither that the city of Lisbon was revolted, and yielded to the English. Whereupon, he being desirous his brother might be the first messenger of so good news to our king, returned post into France, and presently despatched letters hereof to his brother in England, which, though it be impossible to be true, at least at that time, yet it is certain that his majesty, both in the beginning of the former week, and also again on Saturday, Sunday, and Monday last, at three in the morning, received packets from the fleet; the contents whereof, though all kept secret, are thought to be good and pleasing, by the king's behaviour after the receipt of them. The duke also at Ipswich received a packet, whereof so much he was pleased, they say, to make known, that the fleet was come safe to the place it intended. A merchant of Newcastle reports that he met it within forty leagues of Lisbon, and that one of our ships going out as a scout, far before the rest of the fleet, encountered three tall Spanish men-of-war, who set upon her, and distressed her so much, that she was fain to blow up one of her decks. Yet some other ships of the fleet coming in at

¹ Sir William Fielding, afterwards Earl of Denbigh.

length, rescued her, and, as some will have it, surprised the three Spanish ships. This comes from Lynn.

To your last of the fleet, you must add five victuallers, and as many horse-ships, having only seamen in them. The Hollanders with them are twenty-three sail.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

November 26th, 1625.

You have but little news this week neither. I have not yet seen any letter of the doctor's.

The burials in London were in all this week	231
Of the plague	27
So it is fallen since last	21
Parishes clear	106
Christenings	88

The highest parishes are :—

Andrew, Holborn, plague	4
Clement, Temple Bar	3
Mary, Whitechapel	3

Many of the sticklers in the last parliament are made sheriffs — Sir Edwin Sandys,¹ Sir Robert Phillips, Mr. Alured, and others. Yea, Sir Edward Coke himself, as they talk ; to whom it is a piece of dishonour, to the rest none at all.

Sir Thomas Gerrard, of Lancashire, is in the Tower, as they write from London ; and I am told as a truth from him that heard it from an eyewitness, that, on Friday was sennight, came through Banbury, from the north parts, sixteen men, with hands tied behind them, and their legs under the horses' feet, which are supposed to belong to that business.

It is told, for certain, that a commission hath been read in all the courts at Reading for the strict execution of all laws against recusants. My Lord Vaux and his brother remain in the Fleet. At court, they begin to look strange at a papist.

The news talked this week at London, since Lisbon went down, is, that our fleet hath taken Cadiz, with the loss of 400 men. That the king received a packet which made

¹ Father of the fourth Lord Sandys, of the Vine, in Hampshire.

him jocund. That Sir John Worsman had letters thereof. All I can say is, I would it were true.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, December 3rd, 1625.

The times are still barren; but you must take what we have. The whole number of burials at London this last week's, 190; of the plague, 15. God be thanked.

The duke arrived at the Hague, but with very much danger at sea. Two days after his arrival, three of our ships were missing, could not be heard of, and are feared to be cast away, upon report of a ship seen swimming with the keel upwards. There met him at the Hague two ambassadors, from the two Kings of Denmark and Sweden, and others.

The wicked Dunkirkers are, at length, returned home, after a great measure of mischief done; they having destroyed, since they got out, one hundred fishing-boats, with all that was in them, sunk six men of war of the Hollanders, but lost two of their own. Some esteem the hurt they have done the Hollanders at a million sterling; but methinks they overreckon. Howsoever, the Dunkirkers got nothing to themselves, but destroyed all.

The demand of the French ambassador, besides the delivering of Soubise, was, that his majesty would send home the fourteen Holland ships which pursued him to Fal-mouth, and were there stayed by us. What he answered for Soubise, you have heard; but for the ships, his answer was, that when his brother of France should send home his seven ships hither, he would send them thither.

Thus much the doctor;¹ but that you may not wonder why the Hollanders so eagerly pursued him, it was thus: when our men refused that service against Rochelle, the Hollanders likewise paused; and sent to them and Soubise, that they resolved not to fight against them, but bade them be secure of them, only they would ride there till they had order from the States how to be disposed. Thus the Hollanders, supposing they had been trusted, rode

¹ Meddus.

securely, fearing no enemy ; but some jealousy coming into the Frenchmen's heads, they suddenly put into action, and in the dead time of the night, when the others thought no harm, set fire on their admiral and burnt her up, intending the rest should have had their share, if they had not delivered themselves by cutting their cables and loosing their anchors with much danger and confusion.

The Hollanders, hereupon enraged, offered their services to the French king to be revenged, and so they were ; and yet pursued Soubise flying to have taken him ; and some of them coming to Plymouth, openly threaten farther revenge yet, as being nothing near satisfied. This was told me by him that was present, and heard them.

Of the taking of Cadiz the doctor hath not a word, but only that on Tuesday was sennight arrived the first messenger, saith he, from the fleet, and presently rode to court ; and relates, that he left the fleet at Cadiz, where they had landed 4000 men. He writes no more, but I hear it is feared they have had the repulse, because there seems no great willingness at court to talk either of the messenger, or what he brought, unless they know nothing, and therefore say little. I hear some afraid they have been disappointed, and found the Spaniard better provided than they looked for ; because it is said they were first upon the coast of Galicia, then came down the shore to Lisbon, and are now come to Cadiz. But had they been but ten days sooner, they had met five great carracks come from the East Indies to Lisbon, and esteemed worth £1,500,000.

It is true of the commission read openly and audibly at Reading, in all the courts of justice, by Sir Robert Heath, the attorney-general, for the strict execution of all laws in force against papists, and taking their fines ; to be spent only in powder, shot, fortifications of castles, and repairing of block-houses, and the navy. And some lawyers are already said to be called upon, either to bring certificates of their communicating, or to pay their fines, and give over their practice.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, December 10, 1625.

With that I have, I will continue my wonted course.

The number of the plague is this week, December 8, the same as it was the last, viz., 15, and but 2 within the walls. The general sum of all burials is fallen, 5, viz., 185.¹

The last Saturday brought us nothing of the fleet; but that the court was not then, as seemed, fully informed concerning it, which occasioned all the letters which the Antwerp post brought the week before to be intercepted at Dover, and brought to the king, to see what they advertised, and it was thought the next letters would be so served. Yet there was a rumour in London (since put in the Corranto), that our men at Cadiz, at the first, were indeed put back with some loss; but, after re-charging, they won the out-fort of the town, and slew all they found therein. But there is some other news come since by a pinnace; the particulars, as yet, we know not. But a German gentleman, and friend of mine, tells me, from the mouth of the prince palatine's resident secretary, that St. Lucar's is taken. The sub-almoner wrote to Peter House, that the king said he had good news from the fleet as ever he could have expected or hoped for; but he mentioned no particular.

The duke expedited his negotiation very well, they say, this day three weeks, at the Hague, in a full assembly of the States; and was expected with the first sure wind to be at the christening of his young son, the Earl of Coventry, born upon the 17th of the last month. I have been told by a stranger, but, *sub sigillo*, a strange notion of the duke's, and something besides, which I would rather tell you at Dalham than write now.

The Marquis of Baden, or Durlach, that played the man so well when Mansfield was in the palatinate, when King James dissolved them, sent his son lately ambassador to our king, who died by the way at Boulogne; but his letters were sent, and contained that the good marquis

¹ It should be 181. See the following letter.

would venture once more to be in the field with an army to see what might be done. Our king, in his answer, commended him for his noble and generous resolution, promising all the favour, encouragement, and assistance he could afford.

I hear that Sir Edward Coke refused to take the sheriff's oath, because of the clause against Lollards.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, December 17, 1625.

Though I think I shall not now be long absent, but come and tell my tale at Dalham, yet I will say something now, if but to save telling it over again. The sum of burials at London, this last week, 168; of the plague 6, whereof but 2 within the walls. The former week I gave you the general sum wrong—it was but 181; the plague, as I wrote, 15.

Concerning the fleet, I received a letter from Hampton Court, whose relation is thus: "That upon Friday, the 2nd of this month, there came a post to court from Plymouth, with news that, upon the 19th of October, the fleet came to the Bay of Cadiz, where the Earl of Essex, in the Swiftsure, a good sailer, gave a *loze* from the fleet, and came into the bay a mile before them. Five galleys and some few small Spanish ships entertained him, but he, unwilling to spend his shot to small purpose, contained till he came in the midst of them, and then let fly amongst them so thick, that the ships ran themselves on ground under the Castle of, and the galleys rowed quite away. Then came the fleet in, and fell to batter the castle with their ordnance, whilst the landsmen assaulted it by land, and after some few hours' fight, the castle hung out a flag of truce and yielded. They talked but of one land-captain slain, Forriman; Mr. George Raymond by sea, who, in a merchant's ship, the Great Sapphire, at night, when the castle was ready to yield, embracing his master in congratulation for their good day's work, a bullet, the last which the enemy shot, came in at their fore-castle, and slew both him and his master

in their embraces. They landed but 6,000 men, and had no more able men to land, what number soever the lists have.

“But no good, it seems, was to be done upon the Isle of Cadiz, and therefore they had not so soon taken the castle but they quitted it again, and all betook themselves to their ships, and came away to the southern Cape St. Vincent, and from thence sent a ship homeward with this news, and that twelve or fourteen more were to follow her. The rest of the fleet were coming to the Isle of Bayonne for fresh water, and so it was to be feared the market was almost done.

“But twelve of the king’s ships are preparing for the next month—the Honour; the Triumph, of 1,000 tons; the Lion; the Nonpareil; the Garland; the Warspite, Victory, Happy Entrance, &c. But whatsoever men talk and think, it will be March before they can all be ready.” Thus my author.

Lord Conway’s secretary told us that the rest of the fleet would stay awhile to watch the Plate fleet not yet come home. That when we quitted the castle, some sixty or eighty of our men stayed so long there to drink sack, that the Spaniards came upon them and cut all their throats. That some three of our ships have perished in this voyage; one of them having 150 men, all of them lost. That we lost one way or the other 500 or 600 men at Cadiz.

Since, we hear (and it is true) that the Earl of Essex is come home with fourteen ships, and that he came to court on Sunday. The duke came thither on the Friday before him; and some talk it was good for him that he came to the king before the earl.

The king will keep his Christmas, they say, at Whitehall, and removes on Thursday. On Tuesday last, I am told, the queen was in the Exchange, and went nimbly from shop to shop, and bought some knacks, till, being discovered, she made away with all the haste she could, and went that night to Hampton Court. This was a French trick, like to washing in the Thames last summer.)

They say, we shall have a parliament in February.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, January 12, 1625-6.

You shall receive what I found here, viz. :—

“London, January 6.—The three proclamations I last mentioned were on Saturday proclaimed. On Monday, a fourth also—that none anywhere in the kingdom should interrupt the persons or sale of goods of them in London, the Strand, or Westminster; and a fifth likewise printed, against the aiding of Spain by any other States, which it is like will be to-day or to-morrow proclaimed; and a sixth, against priests and Jesuits.

“It is written, our men’s goods and estates in Spain are confiscated, and our men sued, some to be imprisoned, others to be enjoined, on pain of death, to depart. The arresting in France of the like is said to be deferred till the 18th of February.

“On Monday went hence thitherwards the Earl of Holland¹ and Sir Dudley Carleton, extraordinary ambassadors.

“The Scottish lords come hither are said to offer, towards his majesty’s wars, £50,000 sterling, and to transport 10,000 men, but desire the removing of some upstarts from offices and authority.

“The queen’s servants, perceiving they were like to be discarded if they took not the oath of allegiance, have now, as I hear, all taken it saving the priests.

“The Hollanders have, near Sluys, taken two Dunkirk sloops, with fifty-nine well-armed men in them, and (binding the men back to back, threw them all into the sea,) save the odd man, who was English, and, as the rest confessed, was a prisoner, and was forced to serve—him they landed on our coast. This execution was begun by the Dunkirkers themselves.

“It is said the general of our fleet is in Ireland, and a messenger come from him.

“On Saturday died our other sheriff, a good man, of a quartan ague.

¹ Robert Rich, third baron.

“Sir George Crook succeeds, (as is said) in my Lord Hobart’s place, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas.

“It yet holds the 30th of this month for the king and queen to go to the Tower; the 1st of February, to ride through London; the 2nd, to be crowned; and the 6th, the parliament to begin.

“In Oxford, the plague begins again, where, last week, died thereof five, which occasions the putting off exercises and sermons at St. Mary’s the next term.”

PS. Even now I received letters from Bridgewater, of December 30, that passengers come thither from Ireland affirm that Lord General Cecil was arrived there with fifty sail, and there detained by his majesty’s command; whereat divers wonder, he being held faithful to his prince and country; yet here this expedition is strangely discoursed of.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, January 13, 1625-6.

It is said there be yet about forty sail of our fleet in Ireland, and the lord general, who is said to be sick there; and well may be, if the report that goes of him be true, considering his martial skill, judgment, courage, valour. But I will not prejudice his lordship.

Yesterday sennight came a Savoyan ambassador hither; had audience privately that night. On Saturday night, the duke feasted him, and was seldom from him. On Saturday he had his despatch; and on Monday morning, betimes, went away.

The same afternoon the queen was at the Tower, in her rich coach, with seven others—her confessor’s coach being foremost, and hers following next after—and returned by torchlight. The bishop is gone into France upon business.

This day sennight was proclaimed that all foreign ships carrying ammunition, victuals, materials for shipping, for the King of Spain, or any of his subjects, should be stayed and confiscated; and three such prizes came in on Saturday.

The last week, the burials were 159; of the plague, 4; 1 within, and 3 without the walls. It is said, 4 also in Westminster, and they all of the court.

The ships of our fleet are all returning home with their companies. Of the Hollanders who went with ours, in number twenty, three are driven away with tempest, uncertain whither, no news being yet received of them; seventeen into Barbary, whereof three, leaking irrecoverably, were unladen and fired; the residue, thirteen, are come to Plymouth, to receive his majesty's command for farther service.

One hundred and twenty, or more, old sergeants and soldiers of our countrymen, are come out of the Low Countries, to be dispersed into the maritime provinces, for disciplining our men.

*John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.*¹

London, January 19, 1625-6.

I was glad to understand, by your letter of the 13th of this present, of your safe arrival at Paris, but should have been more glad to have been at hand to congratulate your first coming after so long absence. I came to town the day after the date of your letter, and was welcomed with a sad accident; for that morning our house was on fire, by the negligence of servants: but, thanks be to God, though there were great fear and danger, yet there was no great loss, more than the breaking up of chimneys and floors, whereby my lodging is defaced for a time, and I confined to a narrow circuit.

I have not seen my Lady Carleton, but sent the next day after my coming, to present my service. My man brought word she is not in town, nor Mr. Locke, who is with her at Imworth. I shall be willing to wait upon her when she returns, though I know not well how to do it, being unable altogether to go so far on foot, or in coach, by reason of my infirmity. Neither, indeed, do I take any pleasure in going abroad to see the decay and desola-

¹ At this period ambassador to the court of France.

lation of this town, without hope almost, in my time, to see it better.

The coronation holds on Candlemas-day, but private, without any show or feast at Westminster Hall. The late lord keeper, as Dean of Westminster, being to perform certain ceremonies at that solemnity, is commanded to substitute the Bishop of St. David's¹ for his deputy. The queen's bishop pretended and stood to have the crowning of her; but the Lord of Canterbury not permitting, he is gone over to learn how he shall carry himself, or to get a dispensation for his presence.

Some ten days since, the queen went publicly through this town, in a rich embroidered carasse, accompanied only with five other coaches, from Westminster to the Tower, where she had a banquet, and so, with a peal of ordnance, came back the same way. This passage it was thought might excuse the solemn entry; but that is put off till May, when the king means to go into Scotland to be crowned, and makes account to despatch that journey in twenty days, if it be possible.

Great store of Scottish nobility is now at court; and, they say, have offered, in the name of that kingdom, to maintain 5000 men for the recovery of the Palatinate. But they will have the paying and disposing of them themselves.

We talk of great preparations to sea: God send better success than we have had hitherto. Some lay the blame on the design or council; the soldiers; on their general, Viscount Sitstell² (as they now stile him); he on the seamen; but most on his Grace;³ as he on Sir Thomas Lowe; and so from post to pillar.

Here be daily proclamations come forth; one strict enough against papists and recusants, if it may be duly executed; but it is thought to look toward the parliament, which is to begin the 6th of February. For my part, I look for no good of this parliament, the world being so far out of tune every way.

Here is a rumour that Sir Edward Coke is chosen knight of the shire for Norfolk, and burgess for Coventry and another place: that Sir Robert Phillips and Sir Francis

¹ Dr. Laud.

² Cecil.

³ The Duke of Buckingham.

Seymour are returned for several counties : but the king says, he will not dispense with their oath, whereby they are tied, during the time of their office, not to be absent, or leave their shire without his license.

The Lord Chamberlain ¹ is like to be Lord Steward this parliament, *pro tempore*, or further, as he shall carry himself, and give cause. The Lord Hobart's place ² is still in question ; but it is thought Sir John Walter shall carry it ; and Sir George Crooke, or Sir Thomas Trevor, to be lord chief baron in his room.

All I send is taken upon credit ; and such use you make of it.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, January 26, 1625-6.³

My Lord of Lincoln ⁴ being sequestered from his office at the coronation, as he is Dean of Westminster, and the Bishop of St. David's ⁵ being set up in his room by the great man, his lordship is going to retire himself at Bagden. The occasion of this and the loss of his lord keeper's place was (besides some things that passed at the last sitting of parliament) a plain piece of counsel his lordship gave my lord Duke at Salisbury ; namely, that being as then general, both by sea and land, he should either go in person, or stay the fleet at home, or else give over his office of admiralty to some other.

The Archbishop of York, ⁶ I hear, is dead. The Bishop of London, ⁷ it is thought, will succeed him ; and St. David's, London.

What account may be given of the number of ships come home, I cannot yet learn them certainly ; but here lies a fleet of thirty sail in the river, to go for Rochelle in case no good news comes from my Lord of Holland, who

¹ William, Earl of Pembroke.

² Lord Chief Justiceship of the Common Pleas, made vacant by his death, which took place on the 25th of the previous December.

³ There is a letter from Mr. Mead, dated January 21, but it contains nothing likely to interest the reader.

⁴ Dr. Williams, late Lord Keeper.

⁵ Dr. Laud.

⁶ Dr. Toby Mathew, who did not die till March 29, 1628.

⁷ Dr. George Mountaine.

will be here very shortly, forasmuch as the Leiger ambassador, Sir Edward Barrett, is ready to depart. Mr. Glanville hath sent his majesty, out of Ireland, a journal of the voyage, and of the actions and consultations therein, not omitting so much as every man's particular speech and opinion.

Yesterday, as I saw Westminster Hall full of lawyers in the forenoon, so I beheld it full of soldiers in the afternoon; and asking the reason, one of that number told me, that some 130 of them, being sergeants of companies, had been sent for out of the Low Countries to teach our train-bands all over England the use of arms, saying, that he hoped, by the grace of God blessing their industry, England, within one half year, would be stronger by 100,000 men.

Extract from another letter, of the same date, from a Clergyman in London.

There is a proclamation for a public thanksgiving for our deliverance from the plague, to be kept in London and Westminster the next Sunday, and upon the 19th of February, all over the kingdom.

Besides my late Lord Keeper, are prohibited from coming to parliament, the Lord Digby, Earl of Somerset, and Earl of Middlesex.¹

My Lord Duke is sending out three ships to seek adventures, by Captain Brett, who, they say, told his lordship, that the great fleet was never like to have better success than we see, in that there was sent with it *Bag* without money, *Cook* without meat, and *Love* without charity. These are the names of three chief captains.

All burials this week, 137; plague, 3.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, January 27, 1625-6.

The promise which I once made to you, I do here perform, I mean the journal of the late great fleet.

¹ Lionel Cranfield, created Earl of Middlesex by James I., in whose reign he was lord treasurer.

Upon the 8th of October, they weighed anchor in Plymouth Sound. Upon the twelfth day they had a violent tempest, which dispersed them into many squadrons; when some, as I told you, for the want of instructions, came back to Falmouth, and one ship with horses into Mount's Bay. Yet, saith my friend, as if God purposed to give them honour, the fleet met altogether again at the South Cape, only one ship lost in that storm, called the Long Robert. From thence they sailed to the Bay of Cadiz, where they received their instructions, which should have been given at Plymouth; fourteen days after they weighed anchor, they came into the bay, where they found ships unmanned; the great Admiral of Naples, a ship of 1500 tons; four galleons: that is, king's ships, and others to the number of sixteen; castles unfortified, and the dis-furnished secure, and not expecting any enemy.

The general now calls a council, wherein they spent so much time that the town and castle took courage, which at first might have been taken for asking. In this council, whatsoever was advised by others, yet all was carried by Captain Love. The seamen longed to be upon the ships, but Captain Love told them he could lay his hands upon them at his pleasure; therefore, as if the castle could have ran away, they thought it most expedient to fall upon that first, but they stood consulting so long, that the Earl of Essex left them, and in token of his forwardness fell to fight with the castle; but night came on, and so he came off. Next day, the whole fleet fell upon the castle, where, after some ten hours' fight, they landed some men, and took the castle; it was yielded upon composition, and they went away with colours displayed.

In the mean time, the Spanish ships sank three or four ships betwixt themselves and our fleet, and so being barricaded, they hung out flags of defiance. Now they had spent three days, and their men were landed; there they wandered up and down the island four days more, and drank a little sack, and fired two or three old houses, and so returned to their ships again, with eight brass pieces of our own, taken out of the castle.

As they came down the rocks to their ships, the Spa-

niards sallied out upon them, and slew some few men drunk, which though they had the trick to stagger, yet had not the grace to tumble down the rocks and save themselves. When they were still at the weighing of their anchors, the town gave them a merry volley of shot for a farewell. Yet thus much Colonel Bruce, a Scot, speaks of the common men, that he never led more willing and stout men (though not very skilful) since he bore arms, who, in their march towards the town, asking his captains and men what they would do, his men answered, that if the captains would not make more haste, they would go on before them; but the general commanded a retreat.

Now, saith my author, having left the bay and come into the ocean, as if God was highly displeased with the cowardice, faintness, or rather folly, of the greatest, they were tossed with tempests all the way home, such as he never felt, yet but one ship cast away, homeward bound, called the *Mary Constance*, and that upon the coast of Ireland. The fleet is come into several harbours, the admiral, with many others, into Ireland; the Earl of Essex came into Plymouth, the Earl of Denbigh into Bristol, some into Portsmouth, &c., whereof twenty sail are sent for to come up to London, and the landmen are billeted in Devonshire and Cornwall as before, none discharged.

The merchants which come from the Straits, since the return of the fleet, report that the King of Spain had taken greatest care for Sicily and Naples, thinking that our fleet would have attempted nothing under a kingdom; and they might have fired Malaga, Carthagena, and all the south coast of Spain, which, upon the first rumour of our fleet being upon their coasts, fled up into the country, and left only some few men in the castles; but they gave Cadiz too much time to receive supplies out of Spain, by the want of wisdom and resolution.

Whether our ships will be sent peaceably from Rochelle or not, I cannot learn. Captain Pennington is gone down to Plymouth, and must go over to Rochelle with thirty sail; but whether they be yielded up quietly, or fetched by force, Rochelle, without some extraordinary work of the

Almighty, cannot be believed to maintain their privileges, but all the best must be yielded upon composition; for when our ships are come away, there are still too many French, though our king should victual and man out Soubise with his fourteen sail in our harbours; yet Mr. Boswell tells me that our ships will not be yielded up. Still the preparations of new shipping go forward at Chatham, and beeves are knocked down very thick at the slaughter-house, but I see no possibility of a despatch till April.

The defeat which Brunswick gave to Tilly was but of six troops of horse, and it was done by an ambush. Brunswick's secretary is now at the court; he is a Scot.

The sight of the coronation will not be worthy of your journey to London, for the king rides not in state through the city until May; but the knighthood of the Bath hath a great solemnity belonging to it, of which order there are eighty to be made on Monday next, and they are to be witnesses to the coronation of his majesty.

Mr. Boswell wished me to acquaint you with the affairs of the Scottish council, upon the information of the Lord Maxwell; they were sent for. The king demands now, at last, the restitution of such church lands only as the king his father granted in his minority; but the council cannot restore them—it must be done by parliament. The Lord Maxwell also desires to be lord president of the council, but they absolutely refuse him as a Roman Catholic. Here they are still—when they return to Scotland I know not; they are very stout gentlemen, but the bishops have fallen off from them.

The general of the late fleet is at Wimbledon with his lady, and imputes the blame to Captain Love. He hath not been at court as yet.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, February 4, 1625-6.¹

The coronation of the king was on Thursday (as passengers from London yesterday tell us), but private. The

¹ A letter from the same hand, dated January 28, is omitted, as it contains nothing of interest.

king went to Westminster church by water; the queen was not crowned, but stood at a window in the mean time, looking on, and her ladies frisking and dancing in the room.

A Scottish gentleman tells the story of the Scottish business from the beginning, thus:—My Lord Maxwell, in the beginning of last year, went to the jubilee at Rome, and there received the pope's special benediction and other favours; which the council of Scotland hearing, set forth a kind of ban or proscription against him, as going out of the kingdom without leave. But upon the death of King James he came again for England; and by the duke's means, whose kinswoman he had married, got a pardon from our new king; and his majesty being to send into Scotland to assemble the States for a contribution of moneys, and taking order for some ships to wait upon the Dunkirkers, my Lord Maxwell, by the means aforesaid, obtained not only to be joined in commission with the Earl of Annandale, but to be designed president of the council of Scotland, which the council, by their friends in England, met together to consult what was to be done, and to make mutual promise to stick close together, and maintain their former, and refuse the commission; and for the better declining thereof, by making it useless, they send to all the chief towns in Scotland to signify what was coming, and to advise them with all speed to send in their moneys, and take order for the business before named, that the king's demands might be satisfied before the commissioners came. The towns obeyed instantly, and all was performed by the time my Lord Maxwell came, who entering into the council, they refused to admit him, as divers ways incapable of such authority, and signified the king's demands were already fulfilled before their coming. In the mean time, they send into England to give his majesty satisfaction, who seemed to rest contented with their answer. My lord, seeing this, posts back into England, but, finding the duke gone to the Hague, posts after him into Holland; who being returned, the king appeared suddenly altered, and greatly incensed, and sends for the council of Scotland to court; who, as they came down,

understanding the duke to be at Burghley, invited him to dinner, and dealt about their business, which he promised should be taken up to their contentment; but in the mean time (as they say) privately went to court to mar their welcome.

Besides the former demands, which were easily granted, the commissioners were also to demand the restitution of the church lands to the crown, which the king as yet stands upon, at least those passed away in his father's minority. This, together with the proceedings of the person in authority, put the Scots hard to it, and God grant their actions to be more loyal than I hear some of their language is.

Burials, February 2nd, 125; plague 4, in four parishes.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, February 11, 1625-6.

I received yours as I was going to write. Your heavy exordium, though it revived my grief, was no news unto me, having heard thereof on Tuesday; but there must be a time, come it later or sooner, when not only our friends part from us, but we ourselves from them; God give us patience for the one, and make us ready to entertain the other.

The most of our last week's was of the coronation; but Mr. D'Ewes¹ giving you so largely, I shall need only mention what he omitted, namely, as followeth:—

“London, February 3rd.—The queen would not by any means be present in the church to see the solemnities and ceremonies, though she was offered to have a place made fit for her, but took a chamber at the palace gate, where she might behold them going and returning. It was one of the most punctual coronations since the conquest. One prayer therein was used, which hath been omitted since Henry VI.'s time: Edward III. had it, and some other, both Norman and Saxon kings. It understands the “king

¹ Afterwards Sir Simonds D'Ewes, from whom there is a long letter describing this ceremonial, which is still preserved among the Harleian MSS., and has been printed.

not to be merely a laic, but a mixed person ; the words, or some of the words, are these:—*Obtineat gratiam huic populo sicut Aaron in tabernaculo, Elizæus in fluvio, Zacharias in templo, Petrus in clave, Paulus in dogmate, &c.*

“ Of the knights of the Bath, the first were the Earl of Denbigh’s son, a viscount ; next, the Lord Strange ; and two of them were children, the Lord Buckhursts ; the Earl of Dorset’s son, of four or five years old ; and my Lord Walden’s eldest son, of some two years, brought in his lady mother’s arms.

“ My Lord Holderness¹ is dead, and hath left behind him in money £20,000.

“ Mr. Clavell, a gentleman, a knight’s eldest son, a great highway robber, and of posts, was, together with a soldier, his companion, arraigned, condemned on Monday last, January 30th, at the King’s Bench bar. He pleaded for himself, that he never had stricken or wounded any man, never taken anything from their bodies, as rings, &c., never cut their girdles or saddles, or done them who he robbed any corporeal violence. He was with his companionrieved, and sent these following verses to the king for mercy, and hath obtained it:—

“ I that have robb’d so oft, am now bid stand—
 Death and the law assault me, and demand
 My life and means. I never used men so,
 But, having ta’en their money, let them go.
 Yet must I die? and is there no relief?
 The King of kings had mercy on a thief—
 So may our gracious king too, if he please,
 Without his council, grant me a release;
 God is his precedent, and men shall see
 His mercy go beyond severity.”

I have not yet seen the bill, and so I know not the general sum of burials ; but the plague is 10, which I am sorry to hear, it being the fatal number of a rising plague ; but God forbid it should so fall out ! We talk much here that the plague is dangerously broken at Linton. There died the former week at Grantham, in Lincolnshire, 10.

Dr. Gouge² is dead in the country, and Dr. Smith,³ a

¹ John Ramsay, Earl of Holderness, who married Martha, daughter of Sir William Cockayne, alderman of London.

² Barnaby Gouge, or Goche, Doctor of Civil Law, Master of Magdalen College in Cambridge, and Chancellor of the diocese of Worcester.

³ Henry Smith, who had previously been fellow of the college.

man relation to Audley End, who dispose, hath the mastership of Magdalen.

The parliament began on Monday;¹ his majesty spoke little; said he loved not to hear himself speak, but would revive the old custom for the lord keeper to be the king's mouth to the house. My lord keeper was not long, much complimentary, but real only, that his majesty had now assembled them to give God thanks, together with them for his mercy in taking away the sickness, and to inquire of the grievances of the commonwealth, that he might reform them; but no word or intimation of money.

On Sunday, the day of thanksgiving at London, the Bishop of London² preached at Paul's Cross two hours and a half; commended his majesty highly, both for his religious apprehension of God's hand in the sickness time, of which he gave special instances, and likewise for his ordinary devotion, public and private, at the court.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, February 18, 1625-6.

The burials and the plague, the two last weeks, are:

February 9.—Burials, 160; plague, 10. Within the walls, Blackfriars, 3; Lothbury, 2; James, Garlick Hill, 1; Mary, Aldermanbury, 1. Without the walls, Giles, Crip-plegate, 1; Mary, Whitechapel, 1; Shoreditch, 1.

February 16.—Burials, 146; plague, 10. Within the walls, Blackfriars again, 3; Mary Staining, 1. Without the walls, Clement, Temple Bar, 3; Martin, Fields, 1; Clerkenwell, 1; Whitechapel, 1.

Spain prepares against this next summer, both for sea and land; and the king's ships at Chatham will be ready by the latter end of March.

On Monday, the first day of parliament, half the commons were not come. The king said to them, he was no orator, but desired to be known by his actions, not by his words. The next day, Tuesday, Sir Heneage Finch, the speaker, was sworn. Dr. Bargrave³ preached before the

¹ February 6th.

² Dr. George Mountain.

³ Dr. Bargrave, D.D., made Dean of Canterbury in 1625. He died in 1642.

house. The first bill put up was for the inquiring after all moneys, which the devotion of men, through the whole kingdom, hath bestowed for the repairing of churches, highways, bridges, &c. Thus, they say, Paul's church may challenge £60,000 out of the chamber of London. I hear of a speech also made that week, somewhat eagerly aiming at, but not naming, the Duke of Buckingham; but it was not applauded, nor seemingly liked by the house; some thought because unseasonable.¹

The week's letters, come yesterday, say they are about mending vicarages, that they may be a competency; wherein the king is said to have shown himself so far that those who are against it shall give him their reasons. A bill is also talked of for pluralists to allow their curate, of the benefice they reside not upon, £50 per annum. Another bill against scandalous ministers.

Sir Edward Coke's business, they say, is thus ordered: because they could not satisfy the king's desire in making the election a nullity, they have given him a dispensation to be absent during the parliament.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, February 25, 1625-6.

For news, I can hear no more foreign than the last Cor-rante afforded you; nor can I hear anything almost of what they do in parliament of late. In the beginning, I am informed that Sir John Elliot, vice-admiral for Devonshire, propounded the raising of an estate for the king's wars, that he might neither borrow upon credit nor upon jewels, but withal desired that there might be an account given for all moneys given in parliament since the 12th of King James, with some invectives against the commissioners, whom he called the *pretending sparers of the king's purse*, laying to their charge the loss of thousands of men's lives in our late expeditions by land and sea.

That Sir Benjamin Rudyard spoke next for the relief of the poor and meanly provided clergy under impropiators, urging two examples of divines who were fain to keep ale-

¹ Such speeches, however, soon came into season.

houses for mere want of means. And there was hope of some good success, if the lawyers stomach it not too much, who desire that every minister convicted before a justice, by twelve men, to have been drunk, should lose his living; that for adultery and fornication they should suffer death; and for tempting a woman be deprived. But the clergy hath been defended by Sir Dudley Digges, and many others, who would have these laws universal, lest they might seem partial; and so they may be admitted.

There hath been some disagreement at court between their majesties, by reason of the French ambassador; but, after three days' silence, the king spoke graciously to the queen, but forbid the ambassador the court, who thereupon (February 10) removed to Greenwich. Whereupon the king sent presently to all the parks to stop all passages out, and a messenger with letters into France. The Monday following, February 13, the ambassador removed to his lodgings at Durham House, but of his sixty pounds daily allowance had ten abated, because his majesty saw it was not all well spent, the ambassador's servants basely selling some thereof.

The Persian ambassador is come, and a friend of mine writes an odd passage:—That one of the committees of the East India Company, who was employed unto him, reported, that when Sir Robert Shirley came thither, and expostulated why he gave not the respect due unto an elder ambassador, the Persian ambassador demanded to see his commission; which he producing, the Persian, when he had seen it, gave him such a blow in the hand as felled him to the ground, alleging it was a counterfeit, and that he had abused the Sophi, and would have cut his throat, had he not retired himself.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, March 3, 1625-6.

The business of the French ship called the St. Peter, of Newhaven, which, though she were discharged by the Court of Admiralty, was nevertheless again arrested by some of ours, which troubleth the whole state, and being

like to prove, if not accommodated, the cause of a breach, if not a war, between us, *quod Deus avertat*.

The French king, by sentence of the parliament of Rouen and Rennes, hath arrested and in his possession above the worth of £300,000 of our merchants' goods, accounts, moneys, &c. Our parliament is very sensitive hereof, and hath spent a whole week, and labours still to find out the ground of the stay and sale here of the French goods, which hath occasioned this arrest there. Yesterday, was the lieutenant,¹ Sir John Apsley, and Mr. Marsh, of the duke's chamber, again examined thereabout, and the duke himself is required to-morrow to give them answer to their objections.

Yesterday, also, was Mr. Nicholls before them, and by his counsel to answer concerning his reviving of the pre-terminated customs; because he pretends he did it by law, of which the merchants much complain.

The Lord Marshal Wimbledon, with most or all of our fleet that was in Ireland, together with the Lords Delawar and Valentia, came yesternight to London, but the two lords, as is rumoured, with great complaints against him; and the business of this unlucky voyage is like to come to the scanning of the parliament.

The present day, the House of Commons have called the council of war before them, and began to look into the expenses of the last subsidies given in King James's time, according as was then ordered by that statute.

Captain Pennington is appointed admiral of thirty-two sail of ships riding now at Plymouth, most of them being those of the last fleet, which, where they had but forty men before, have now eighty men in them, their numbers being all doubled. Whether they are bound for Spain, to visit the Spanish preparations by sea, or for Rochelle, as some improbable surmise, time must tell us. We have some other smaller fleets, as of sixteen ships, and others of less number, preparing forth suddenly.

It is said there are some new laws on foot against papists more dreadful than the old.

Dr. Prideaux, Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, is sent for by

¹ Of the Tower.

the parliament to be on Thursday come sennight before them, about the misguiding of the election of Sir Thomas Edmondess, for one of their burgesses; and his adversaries of the body of the university are said to be very stout and resolute. Our vice-chancellor had never this honour.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, March 4, 1625-6.

I forgot the last week to acquaint you with the funeral bill at London; now you shall have both together in the beginning, lest I should forget it again.

February 23rd—burials, 185; plague, 8.

March 2nd—burials, 173; plague, 1. Andrew, Holborn.

If it should please God, it might come twice to [0], as it hath twice to [1], I would give over my continuation. Our news is very little either from abroad or home. I never knew a parliament so still. That which our last week's letters afforded was this—

That on Tuesday, February 21st, the queen and her ladies acted a pastoral before the king, wherein herself had the greatest part, and repeated, it is said, 600 French verses by heart.

That there was much ado (and not without good cause) about some ships taken amongst our late prizes in autumn, and being challenged to be French, were acquitted in our Court of Admiralty from being prizes, and, nevertheless, were afterwards arrested again; whereupon the French king hath arrested all our merchant's goods and ships, and sealed up the counting-houses, and it was like to mar all our commerce and friendship betwixt us, unless it be well accommodated. The duke frees himself thereof, and casts the blame upon Sir Allen Apsley, Lieutenant of the Tower, and Sir John Epsley, Governor of Dover Castle, who were therefore on Thursday, February 23rd, on their knees for it in the House of Commons; and that one Mr. Marsh, a gentleman of the duke's, was there questioned and charged with some misdemeanour.

There was coined, and hath been dispersed since the coronation, (though not many) of silver coin of eighteen-

pence value, having of the one side the king's picture, with his titles, and on the reverse an arm coming out of a cloud, and holding a sword with this motto, *Donec pax reddita terris.*

There hath been in the two former weeks, on two designed days, a conference about the points of predestination, falling from grace, liberty of the will, in Montagu's book. On the one side was Bishop Morton¹ and our Dr. Preston; on the other, the Bishop of Rochester,² and Dean White; Montagu himself also present to expound his own meaning. The auditors, the duke, Earls of Lincoln, Warwick, Pembroke, Lord Say, and many others. What good they have done, I know not, but Montagu's party talk much of the success on their side; and that he that was brought in as a kind of challenger on the contrary side, to undertake Dr. White, was far short in satisfaction and in the expectation of these lords, who were supposed to have thrust him upon the business; but, I suppose, more had a hand in it, whom no experience will teach how hazardful are the events of the most parts of such conferences, where both parties stand for their credit, and each must stand or fall according to the favour and prevailing inclination of the auditors.

Of my Lord Vaux, who was this term to have answered, but sued to the parliament to have the privilege of a peer in parliament time, and upon taking the oath of allegiance obtained it, I had heard of, but forgot to write it.

Dr. Meddus to the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, March 10, 1625-6.

On Sunday, the Earl of Arundel was committed to the Tower, by warrant from his majesty: the cause was a marriage consummate between his son, my Lord Maltravers, and the eldest daughter of the last Duke of Lennox, whom his majesty (being guardian to them both) had designed, yea, the match was concluded, for the Earl of Argyle's heir, the Lord Lorne, (who is brought up here in our religion) for the reconciling of those two families, which for many

¹ Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry.

² Dr. John Buckeridge.

years had been in great enmity. The Earl of Arundel, who is said to have given leave to his son to make love to the lady, came to ask the king's consent when the marriage was already past; and saith he was not acquainted with it, but that it was despatched between his countess and the Duchess of Lennox.

On Monday, the Persian ambassador had his audience with the king in the great banqueting-house at Whitehall, with as great state as could possibly appear at that time. He was fetched and brought back in the king's coach by the Earl of Salisbury, with many aldermen and other prime citizens, in thirty coaches, from court into Hyde Park, where was a banquet, and so back to his lodgings in Bishopsgate Street. Yesterday, he delivered his present, and is very suddenly to depart in a fleet, which is in readiness. Sir Robert Shirley goes along with him, to give notice to the world whether he be true ambassador or a counterfeit; and one Mr. Cotton, lately a cup-bearer to King James, is sent along with him from his majesty to bring back the true report of this doubt. The chief argument of the Persian against him was because Shirley's commission was sealed on the one side, whereas the King of Persia's use is to give two seals, one at the top of the commission, another at the bottom.

The same Monday afternoon, Viscount Wimbledon and the colonels of the army came before the lords of the council, where the viscount, to his much prejudice and disadvantage, fell into a passion, saying, that never man was abused as he; that before his going and since his return, there had been made libels and ballads to his disgrace; and that some had wished before departure that the voyage might rather not prosper than he should have the honour of it. Whereupon my Lord Essex asked him whether he were the man that had made such wishes against him, and so Colonel Burrows and the rest in order did the like, saving only Sir William St. Leger and Sir George Blundell, who of all the rest did only adhere unto him.

On Tuesday morning, the council of war presented themselves before the House of Commons, where being

demanded whether they had issued the moneys according to the order in the statute, their answer was, that they were not bound to give the House of Commons an account of what they had done.

The same day afternoon, was a meeting between the Lords and Commons in the painted chamber, where my Lord of Canterbury began the speech, and my Lord Chamberlain went on with it as from the king, demonstrating unto them what need the kingdom hath now of defending the dangerous state of Christendom; that we were entered into a league with Denmark, Sweden, the States, and others, not to be dissolved till the peace of Germany was procured. That the duke, going over into Holland, was to renew it, into which there was yet hope the French will come and assist us with money.

That the duke carried over of his own money £60,000, which he paid for his majesty unto Denmark and Mansfield, and pawned of his jewels for £30,000 more; and that, nevertheless, his majesty was still indebted thereabouts; who, besides, is monthly to allow the King of Denmark, towards the wars, £30,000; which king will be in the field with 50,000 men to allow unto Count Mansfield £20,000 a month, who is written to be marched up with 15,000 men towards Silesia, as is thought, to join with.....; that we had a fleet, powder, and munition ready, and only wanted victuals and money; that victuals must be presently provided, else the time of year would be passed.

Wednesday morning report was made to the House of Commons of this proposition from their lordships; and they fell into a dispute, whether they should answer it or no. Whereupon it being put to the question, the House was divided, and the affirmative part won it. But little is yet done, though there hath been some entrance to a consultation that way.

On the same afternoon, the lawyers of the House discussed the question whether the council of war were bound by the statute to give an account of their proceedings to the House of Commons; and concluded, that the council of war was bound to do it.

On Thursday morning, the Commons propounded a new question to the same council; namely, whether in this last action at sea, and formerly also, their counsels about the issuing of money had been put in execution; and examined every one of them apart. My Lord Grandison's answer was, as before, that he was not bound to give an answer. Sir John Ogle required more time to give his answer, and so did the Earl of Totnes. Whereupon, Saturday is set down as a peremptory day for them all. My Lord Conway and Sir Thomas Batten being sick, a committee is sent to each to examine them. Sir Horace Vere, now Baron Tilbury, is freed from all question by the House, in respect of his absence; and the Lord Brooke, by reason of his eye and impotency. But when this question is done, the Commons have five more questions in readiness in the speaker's hand, for the same council of war to answer. My Lord Wimbledon was not as yet questioned by them, but will be to-day.

The same afternoon, Thursday, they began to enter upon Montagu's business; and were drawing his offences and contempts into several heads, to prepare them speedily for the Lords. The same day (as on the Monday before), was the claim debated for the Earldom of Oxford, but not yet determined.

On Saturday last, my Lord Duke, by the mouth of his counsel, Mr. Attorney-General, answered the House of Commons, that he revoked the French ship, called the *St. Peter*, of Newhaven, by the king's command. Whereupon, it is said, the House put another question to Mr. Attorney, whether his majesty, or if not his majesty, who else commissioned him to deliver this answer; which, whether he hath yet satisfied, I cannot learn. This matter and the council of war's unsatisfactory and dilatory answer are thought to be some hindrance of the good success of the Lords' proposition.

I have heard that one of the House of Commons hath thirteen articles to put in against a very great person,¹

¹ The Duke of Buckingham. This was the commencement of the great struggle of the Commons with the king; the first attack being directed against the royal favourite.

which will either break him or dissolve them. Some are of opinion that the parliament cannot last above a fortnight, so many things beginning to be propounded, which thwart the king's mind. But others think his majesty will continue it till Midsummer or Whitsuntide, rather than not to attain from the Commons that which may serve for our present defence, and the most necessary assistance of our allies. God avert a breaking upon distraction, without giving to the present affairs, which shall bring upon us a sudden ruin.

Sir Simonds D'Ewes to Sir Martin Stuteville.

* * * Ordinary news I omit, such I call parliament of the lower house; and foreign, such any man will tell you. Two things I am little acquainted with thus take:—

1. The Earl of Oxford's¹ case hath been three several days again debated in the upper house of parliament, yet the old matters have only been renewed. The writer of that act of parliament of anno 16, Rich. II., having written *heires madles*, for *heires masles*, as I saw it in the record; upon which my Lord Willoughby's counsel, though to little purpose, made a great deal of pother. For all the acts of parliament, from Edward the Third's time till Richard the Third, are enrolled in French. The Lords inclined much to Robert de Vere; the name sounded Bertie, and I hope he will have it. For the great chamberlainship of England, the king pretends (but the duke intends to have it) a title to it. I wish now the noble gentleman were so happily married as to have somewhat to support the honour, which else will prove *magni nominis umbra*.

Of my Lord Arundel's case is not so bad as the world takes it. You know he is a most indulgent man to his wife and children, and hath in his son's hearing often said, he referred his son's match to himself. He often visiting the

¹ On the death of Henry Vere, Earl of Oxford, in the middle of the summer of 1625, a dispute arose between Robert Vere and Robert Bertie, Lord Willoughby of Eresby, concerning the title of the Earl of Oxford, and the office of Great Chamberlain of England; the former of which claim was adjudged by the House of Lords, in 1626, to Robert Vere, and the latter, to Lord Willoughby of Eresby.

Duchess of Richmond, she would be sure to have her kinswoman, Lady Elizabeth Stuart, born July 17th, 1610, there, and so often caused them to meet, and so cunningly would leave them together, as, to use Barclay's words (. . . . cap. 12, p. 250), *prius amarent quam aliquid de amundo statuissent*. True it is, young Campbell, the Earl of Argyle's son (being fourth Earl of Scotland) had leave of the king to marry her, if he could get her. But neither her mother, the duchess, nor herself, ever gave him any welcome. I think that some propositions had formerly been made about this match. King James desired it, and the duke, but Arundel then excused it, alleging his debts, and this lady's little portion. He is at large in the Tower; they are confined, and one bed holds them at Lambeth. But the upper house, conceiving this storm to have fallen by the duke's means, questioned already his commitment, and begin to desire his enlargement.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, March 11th, 1625-6.

I will begin first with the funeral bill at London, which in the whole is 142, and of the plague, 0. It is just a twelvemonth since it was so; God be thanked for so happy a revolution.

Dr. Anyan,¹ of Oxford, is again in the parliament, having added to the former foul offences the procuring of two to be cast in prison; the other two to be arrested of those which were sent for by the former parliament, and forced by oath to give testimony against him.

Viscount Wimbledon was on Sunday at court, and, as some write, had a sharp day of it; being like to be found not only to have had want of judgment, but to have been wilfully faulty. Yet others think he will come off easily enough.

¹ Probably Thomas Ayan, D.D., President of Corpus Christi College in Oxford, who had been chaplain to the Lord Chancellor Egerton, and to King James. He was made prebendary of Gloucester in 1619, and, upon resigning his presidentship, was made prebendary of Canterbury, and died in 1632.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

The funeral bill: March 23rd, all, 165; plague, 3. March 30th, all, 133; plague, 2.

On Saturday, the parliament having hammered some four grievances against the duke, sent unto him Sir Edward Bagge, of Plymouth, and Mr. Fotherley, to tell him that they had many things to object unto him; which, unless in person or by proxy, he should answer by Wednesday following, they meant to proceed against him.

On Monday they granted three subsidies and three fifteenths, to be presented to his majesty with their grievances.

On Tuesday morning, as they were entering into business, came the chancellor of the exchequer, with a message from the king, to suspend them from all business, till they had been before his majesty; whither they came on Wednesday morning, about nine, where the king made a short speech himself; the keeper a longer, and point blank against Mr. Clement Coke, Dr. Turner, and all that not only took their parts, but did not condemn them; that they should not meddle any more with the duke's person, which he defended. That their supply was far too mean and insufficient for the king's necessities, and therefore Saturday (this day) was sent them as a peremptory day to resolve what they could give, or would not. The event we know not, but much fear. Everybody cries, "*Quos perdere vult Jupiter, cor dementat;*" and a strong conceit possesses men, that we shall perish wilfully, which God forbid.

Bishop Usher preached at St. Mary's on King Charles's day; his text, 1 Sam. xii., verses 24, 25. Look at it, and guess what he might say.

France hath agreed with Spain, will most cruelly (they say) confiscate all our merchant's goods, that is, take forty and above for one. Our ambassadors departed in very ill terms. Spain hath a fleet sailing about Biscay, it is thought for Ireland.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, April 8th, 1626.

For news, it is even as had as it was. I told you in my last the harsh speech the parliament on Wednesday was sennight had from the king and keeper. One passage I saw since, in a letter from a parliament-man, which was then omitted, namely, that his majesty, with some reference to Mr. Coke's words, (for which the parliament refused to censure him) should speak in this manner, and assure them that he spoke as he thought: "That it was much better to have his kingdom invaded by an enemy than to be despised by his own subjects." The next day, as soon as they were met again, Sir John Eliot rose up, and made a resolute (I doubt whether a timely) speech, the sum whereof was, that they came not thither, either to do what the king should command them, or to abstain where he forbade them, and therefore they should continue constant to maintain their privileges, and not to do either more or less for what had been said unto them; where the duke made them a fair and submissive speech, first expounding his majesty's meaning in confining their time for a resolved answer about their supply; that if they could not conveniently do it in that space, they might take two or three days more. Secondly, he made an apology for himself, acknowledging and confessing some things amiss, but answering the rest that were objected so well that those who were indifferent, or not much his enemies, seemed then well satisfied; so some parliament-men then wrote. Since that time, they have been very secret and silent, and, as it were, surcharged with the difficulties then arising in their consultations. But, on Wednesday last, they brought his majesty their peremptory answer—viz., that the kingdom was overburdened with grievances, all springing from one root, which they named; and therefore desired his majesty might inquire into and question any subject without exception. Otherwise, they had nothing to say to the subsidies or supply which his majesty demanded; for they would not give their posterity a cause to curse them for losing their privileges by restraint, which their forefathers

left them. Their answer to this remonstrance they are to receive when they meet again after the holidays. As many as can are to meet on Thursday next; but, on Monday following, none of the house to be absent, on pain of parliamentary censure.

The Dunkirkers still take our ships daily, and no provision by us yet to resist them.

On Monday was sennight, King Charles's *initium regni*, there was an earthquake in the north parts. I will give you the very words of two letters, as I read and exscribed them; their authors sufficient, both of my acquaintance.

“ Repton, in Derbyshire, March 29th.—There was in these parts round about us in all places a terrible earthquake upon Monday last (March 27th), about two of the clock in the afternoon, which was observed by some to be about the same hour¹ twelvemonth that King James died.”

“ Warkton, in Northamptonshire, March 30th.—We had here an earthquake on Monday last, about two o'clock in the afternoon, notwithstanding the wind was then troublesome to our seedsmen, which is contrary to the observation of Pliny—*Nunquam intremescit terra nisi sopito sale caeloque tranquillo.*”

He that brought the first letters was Mr. Kendale's man, a gentleman upon the edge of Leicestershire, and affirmed it had thrown down part of a new chimney of his master's, and another from those parts came hither to one of our scholars affirms the like of part of his own house. The Earl of Huntingdon called in his own servants to know what the matter was. The self-same day, at night, John Bell comes to me, and asks me if I had heard no news. “Of what?” quoth I. He answers, “Of an earthquake;” for two bachelors in the chamber near above me affirmed so much unto him, that about two o'clock, as they were private, their chamber shook. I checked him, and bade him catch no gulls, and to bid them also to hold their peace, unless they heard others to have observed the like as themselves; but now it appears not to have been a mere fancy, is it not strange that we can hear of none in the

¹ “Rather when King Charles was proclaimed, for King James died about noon.”—*Note of Mr. Mead.*

whole town that observed any such thing but these two, saving that some will now call to mind, I know not what, when they hear of it from other places? Of foreign news we hear nothing; the Dunkirkers stop all.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

April 15, 1626.

After I had written my last, I saw the doctor's¹ letter, who mentioned no such thing as the remonstrance the House of Commons gave to the king, as a refusal of subsidy to the present necessities of state, nor yet the contrary; for the rest, he agreed with what I sent you.

The Bishop of Gloucester is questioned in the convocation for preaching transubstantiation, or near it, before the king.

Mr. St..... informs me, that, on Wednesday fortnight, the day his majesty severely checked the parliamentary proceedings, the duke also took upon him to check Sir Francis Steward with these words, when they came forth of the house: "Sir Francis, though you have not spared me this parliament time, yet I have spared you." The answer was, "My lord, concerning the first, I have been very silent in your affairs; but for the last you deserve no thanks; wherein have you spared me?" *Duke*:—"When all passages shall be examined, you will not be found so clear from pillaging as your flourishes persuade the world." *Sir Francis*:—"My lord, you had best to begin with me by times, for to-morrow, in the morning, I mean to fall upon you." Thus they parted. My author adds, "Would you believe that the admiral of England should challenge him who brought so much wealth the last summer into the kingdom, with two butts of sack and a barrel of tobacco, which was taken for present necessities for himself and his men? Besides, would you believe that the general of our late fleet hath gotten the better of all the colonels and sea captains about the miscarriage of the fleet? It is true, and yesterday (April 6th), at the council-table, it

¹ Meddus.

was so adjudged. Wonder not the great duke bore him out, and all stood mum; and the fault is laid upon old Captain Gore, the only man who behaved himself well, and an old captain of the queen's."

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, April 22, 1626.

The parliament news (and that is all I yet hear). I saw a letter yesterday from a parliament man; the sum whereof was this:—"London, April 20th.—We spent three days last week for our sea war and some common public acts. On Monday, the complaints against the Bishop of Bangor¹ for simony, incontinency, licensing of incestuous marriages, bribery, extortion, were produced, and incontinency the most palpably proved that ever I heard; for the rest the witnesses were not come in.

"After followed Mr. Montagu as his chaplain, whose report spent two, and was delivered by Mr. Pym so well and fully that the most admired, and Montagu's friends were amazed: the effect was, that no one man spoke in the house but in detestation of him, and his best friends were observed to leave the house before the question came. The opinion of the committee was, that he was guilty of a public offence against the State, and so to be presented unto the Lords. The day was peremptorily set for him to be heard, if he will, and the questions only to be these, Whether he were the author of the Just Appeal, of the Treatise of Invocation of Saints? Whether he knew or gave order of the printing of them? And four privy counsellors were sent as messengers to the king, to give order that no book of his might be printed until they had determined of the former.

"On Monday, also, we entered into consideration of the search of the Clink, where all altars, copes, chalices, pictures, money, plate, and jewels, &c., were seized on, and were estimated at £4000, were, notwithstanding, stayed by the canon, who would now qualify the business; much good, I hope, will come thereof; many villanies and un-

¹ Dr. Lewis Bayly, author of *Practice of Piety*.

known tricks upon this one day's examination were brought to light; and a priest showed Mr. Montagu's book affirming to the searchers it was publicly authorised, and the doctrine of the Church of England. On Friday we proceed, and on Saturday.

“ Bills are passed for regulating citations, and inhibiting drovers, carriers, and butchers, upon the Lord's day. Businesses against the duke came in very fast. Yesterday, a sum of £10,000 from the East India Company. This day, a servant of the Earl of Bristol (Walsingham Gresley) came into our house, and said, he heard his lordship, if he might be heard, he would make it appear, that the ill success of the negotiation concerning the palatinate was the duke's fault. The lords also (by report) question some acts of his in a high and unexpected manner. He hath been sick most part of this week, and is yet; and it may be *animo* as well as *corpore*.”

Thus much that letter.

I heard my Lord of Exeter was dangerously sick, and not like to recover.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, April 28, 1625.

My Lord Digby came to town on Monday, and is to present himself to-morrow, on Monday morning, before the lords of the upper house bar as a delinquent, his accuser being his majesty.

There is a proclamation come forth for mending of mariners' wages. Six score thousand pounds is now allotted for setting forth some few ships to guard the narrow seas; and my lord admiral *antiquum obtinet* in preferring new sea captains and neglecting the old. The land captains and colonels are many of them gone into the Low Countries, and more going.

Sir Francis Steward, Sir Ralph Clare, Sir William Crofts, David Ramsay, of the cloak, were yesterday commanded from the court, until the king's further pleasure were known. The Earl of Pembroke was bidden to signify so much to Sir Francis Steward; whereupon the earl

told his majesty that Sir Francis Steward was a man whom his father loved as well as any in the court of England; that himself had done him much honour, and trusted him far; that he was one of his own blood; and that he might receive great service from him; and therefore humbly beseeched his majesty to send him reason also of his discharge. The king answered, he would have it so, until he spoke further unto him.

Sir Robert Cotton's books are threatened to be taken away,¹ because he is accused of imparting ancient precedents to the lower house.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, May 5, 1626.

Our last news is the best—namely, the return of our seven ships from Rochelle, being now at anchor by the Isle of Wight, and officers sent aboard to take possession, and discharged the French of them. Our goods, also, that were arrested to so great a value in France, are now with all expedition to be released. The reason of both, and of the return from Rochelle home to St. Malo also of twelve of the queen-mother's ships, which she had armed against the Protestants, may be the new troubles begun in that kingdom, which will make the French king stand in need, not only of the Protestants that are his subjects, but those also that are his neighbours.

Since my last, here is a pestilent pamphlet lately come over, printed at Antwerp, by one Dr. Eggesheim, who of late was the Marquis of Hamilton's physician; a papist he is, and papistically he saith, that whereas we tax Jesuits and Roman Catholics with poisoning, and other kind of murders and cruelties, is it not, saith he, a foul shame, *perditorem illum Buckinghamium*, who hath been author, by way of poison, of the deaths of the Duke of Richmond, the Marquis of Hamilton, &c., and lastly, of King James, should be nestled in the bosom of King Charles? In brief,

¹ His library was, in fact, soon afterwards put under arrest. Considering the cause given, it is impossible to conceive a more tyrannical act, or one showing a more fixed resolution of breaking through the privileges of parliament.

the whole book is nothing but a bitter accusation of the duke.

On Monday last, being May-day, my Lord of Bristol appearing at the upper house bar as a delinquent, Mr. Attorney-General intimated to the lords, that he was there to accuse him of high treason. Then said the Earl of Bristol, "My lords, I am a freeman, and a peer of the realm, unattainted. Somewhat I have to say of high consequence for his majesty's service; and therefore I beseech your lordships give me leave to speak." Which being granted—"Then, my lords, I accuse that man,¹ the Duke of Buckingham, of high treason; and I will prove it!" and so presented the articles to the duke most boldly, so he spoke most contemptuously: and whilst he delivered his accusation in the upper house, his son did the like in the House of Commons.

The judges and the king's learned counsel having since met to frame an indictment against the Earl of Bristol, cannot fasten any reason upon him, Judge Doddridge and Sir Harry Yelverton overruling all the rest in this point. Whereupon yesternight was a night of great joy and triumph at the Earl of Bristol's.

Monke, that was apprehended in Leicestershire for a letter containing words and insinuations against his majesty,² is prisoner in the Tower, and hath twice been upon the rack.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, May 6, 1626.

The news I received last Saturday I send you, in which you will perceive my Lord Digby's pertinacious importunity

¹ The duke was present.

² In a letter of Sir William Knyveton's, dated at Smithbiern, Derbyshire, April 19, 1626, among those of Mr. Mead's is the following account of that affair:—"I am informed, that there was lately taken in Leicestershire, and committed close prisoner by the Lord Grey and Sir William Dixie, one Monke, who had written a letter to one Gravenour, in Staffordshire, to this effect:—'That now the great tyrant (meaning our king, whom God long preserve) should shortly receive a blow answerable to his tyranny.' And that upon the day after the triumph, to be on the 2nd of May, Monke being showed the letter, confessed the beginning of it was his own writing, but denies the part which is like to prove most capital, though all be written with the same hand. There be more discovered of the conspiracy, but I hear not of any of them taken."

to come to parliament and hazard a trial, notwithstanding his majesty's offers both of favour and threats (if he persisted) to be his accuser. I hear since but imperfectly, that on Tuesday he came to the house, declared for himself confidently, and accused the duke of divers notorious crimes, and all near high treason. Whilst he was in his declaration, the king's attorney comes in and recriminates a previous accusation of high treason against him. I hear say one of my Lord Digby's charges against the duke is, that he had a bull from the pope to carry the prince into Spain of purpose to give advantage for the perverting him in his religion. My lord duke came to the house in an old coach, some three footmen, no attendance, &c., my Lord Digby with eight horses, his own horse brave and rich with cloth of gold or tissue, &c. The reason is not yet apprehended. His majesty was expected to be in the parliament on Thursday. I heard also that my Lord Digby was on Monday to be arraigned at the King's Bench bar, but I understand it not his majesty is yet said to remit nothing of his affection and adherence to the duke; so that some imagine, whatsoever be proved, the duke will stand invincible, and my Lord Digby, notwithstanding all his warrants from the former king to do as he did, will have his life in great hazard.

Sir Simonds d'Ewes to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Middle Temple, May 11, 1626.

I hope you cannot sit dry in this deluge of portentous news. I had rather see the duke's reformation than ruin; yet rather his own than the weal public's. My Lord Digby hath moderately satisfied the house; the duke still sitting there, although accused of the same treason Bristol was. Both houses stomach it.

PS. If your man's stay continue much longer, I fear my letter will lose that title, and become a Corrant.¹

London, like Africa, *semper aliquid novi parens*. The duke's crimes are now transmitted by eight men. On Monday, the 8th of this May, spoke Sir Dudley Digges in

¹ A newspaper.

the afternoon, comparing the duke to a comet, exhaled out of base and putrid matter. Then followed him Mr. Glanville, Mr. Herbert, Mr. Selden; these four spent up the day, the duke sitting there, outfacing his accusers, outbraving his accusations, to the high indignation of the Commons, who, incensed thereby, are resolute for his commitment.

The Wednesday following spoke Mr. Wandsford, Mr. Pym, Mr. Sherland, and Sir John Eliot made the conclusion, recapitulating all. In all his charges, which were some twelve, or in many of them, precedents' records were cited; that others, for . . . the like or lesser offences, had been banished, degraded, or hanged, drawn, and quartered, &c. The Duke so is absent.

I cannot hold. This great Thursday makes me add this private news, which I desire you to keep to yourself as your own, by separating this half-sheet, and burning it, or concealing it, though there be nothing in it unlawful, or unfit to be said.

The king was, this morning, in the upper house, and there complained of Sir John Eliot, for comparing the duke to Sejanus, in which, he said, implicitly he must intend himself Tiberius. Shortly after, about eleven of the clock, he sent both him and Sir Dudley Digges to the Tower.

The same morning, being with Sir Robert Cotton, he told me, that he had been of late often sent for to the king and duke, and that the king's affection towards him was very admirable, no whit lessened. His opinion is, that the king hath not been informed of what is laid against the duke, but that his greatness keeps it from him. Certainly he will never yield to the duke's fall, being a young man, resolute, magnanimous, and tenderly and firmly affectionate where he takes.

Dr. Meddus to the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, May 12, 1626.

On Thursday, May 11, his majesty came from Whitehall to the Parliament House, accompanied in his barge by

the Duke of Buckingham, the Earls of Rutland, Dorset, Carlisle, Holland, and the Lord Conway, where he made a speech. About the time his majesty had ended the speech, Sir Dudley Digges and Sir John Eliot were sent for out of the house by two messengers of the chamber, who showed them their warrant to commit them (as they did) close prisoners to the Tower.

No sooner was his majesty departed out of the upper house, but the Commons sent up to their lordships, by Sir Nathaniel Rich, a message for commitment of the duke, himself being present.

Upon Sir Nathaniel Rich's return from the Lords, it was perceived in the lower house, whither Sir John Eliot and Sir Dudley Digges were gone; whereupon they broke off all business, and suddenly departed. After dinner, those of the House of Commons met in Westminster Hall; and, having for the same afternoon appointed many committees and much business to despatch, they omitted all, sadly communicating their minds unto one another.

This morning, Friday, being assembled and set in the house, the speaker arose, and put them in mind where they left off, to the end they might proceed. But they, on the contrary, cried to the speaker, "Sit down! sit down!" intending to handle no business at all, till they had fully despatched that about the commitment of the two knights, which, for the present, troubled them much.

The judges have given their opinion, that no member of either house could be committed, save in a case of treason, felony, or breach of the peace, in case he could procure no bail.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, May 13, 1626.

My Lord Digby acquits himself well hitherto; but the duke is said to jeer openly in parliament all accusations brought against him with too much appearance of insolency.

I hear that the Commons having chosen a Committee of eight (each having two assistants), to deliver some fourteen

articles against him unto the lords, Mr. Glanville and another appointed to speak, Mr. Glanville compared the parliament unto the universe; the upper house to the stars, the commons to the lower world, the king to the sun; that the stars received light from the sun, the House of Commons from them. His exordium being done, and he now in the business, the duke so jeered and fleered him, that he was fain, after some patience, to connect his speech to the duke with these or the like words, "My lord, do you jeer me? are these things to be jeered at? My lord, I can show you when a man of a greater blood than your lordship, as high in place and power, and as deep in the favour of the king as you, hath been hanged for as small a crime as the least of these articles contain."

On Tuesday, were four sharp speeches made against the duke in the House of Commons; the first, by Sir Dudley Digges, the last, by Sir John Eliot; both which, on Thursday morning, being called out of the house, as if the king had sent for them, were carried to the Tower by water, and given out to be for high treason. As soon as the news hereof came into the house, they cried presently, "Rise! Rise! Rise!" which Mr. Pym not well understanding, stood up, and began to insinuate an exhortation to patience and wisdom. Whereunto one Walters replied, that he seemed to mistake the voice of the house, which, as he understood, had no other meaning but that it was time to rise and go to dinner. Howsoever, the house was so much discontented that it was thought it would not sit yesterday.

The king went to the house on Thursday, but what he did we hear not yet. The Lords had petitioned the king that the duke might be restrained till these matters were examined; nevertheless, he attended his majesty to the house; but it was said, he would that afternoon go to New Hall. His majesty's affection no whit abates towards him, but seems rather to increase. Lord help us, what will come of these things? the distraction is great, and of great consequence; and, unless God show the way out, we are but in ill case. *Domine miserere!*

The duke being in the bedchamber private with the

king, his majesty was overheard (as they talked) to use these words:—"What can I do more? I have engaged mine honour to mine uncle of Denmark, and other princes. I have, in a manner, lost the love of my subjects. What wouldst thou have me do?" Whence some think the duke moved the king to dissolve the parliament.

Mansfield is overthrown by Count Wallenstein, nor can gather his men together again for want of money, which he hath in vain expected from us. Wallenstein is thirty thousand strong, and proceeds. All will be lost, and they say by our fault. This of Mansfield I saw now in a letter; and that the king takes all the duke is charged with upon himself, and told the Commons he would make them know he was their king, and so departed, the duke being with him. It is generally thought, saith the letter, that the last parliament of King Charles his reign will end within this week. Is it not time to pray?

Dr. Meddus to the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, Friday, May 19, 1626.

Yesterday being Holy Thursday, one Pyke, a common soldier, left behind the fleet at Cadiz, delivered a challenge to the Duke of Buckingham from the Marquis of . . . , brother-in-law to the Conde d'Olivares, in defence of the honour of his sister; affirming, moreover, that he had wronged Olivares, the King of Spain, and the King of England, and therefore he would fight with him in any part of France. This Pyke, a Devonshire man, being presented prisoner to the Duke of Medina, he would needs have him fight at rapier or dagger with a Spaniard, supposing he would not stand him two thrusts; but Pyke, by a dexterous sleight, presently disarmed the Spaniard of his rapier, without hurting him, and presented it to the duke. He then offered with a quarterstaff to fight with three rapier men, all which he vanquished and disarmed. Whereupon the duke and marquis showed him much respect, and gave him money in his purse; and the marquis carried him along with him to the court of Madrid, where he presented him to the king, who invited

him to his service, and was answered, he would serve no king but his own. So the king gave him fifty double ducats, and a safe conduct, and sent him home.

Dr. Meddus to the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, Monday, May 22, 1626.

The two prisoners (Sir D. Digges and Sir J. Eliot) are now delivered from the Tower, and others have been thought on to take their lodgings—Sir Francis Steward and Sir Thomas Lake. The warrants were procured by the duke, and the pursuivants expected every moment: but now that doubt is past, and that passion called fear is banished the House of Commons by act of parliament, whatsoever danger befall them.

The duke is the great protector of the Montagutians; so that the business of religion is like to follow his standing or downfall. Meanwhile, the archbishop is sick of politic gout, and hath lost time to prevent a schism.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, May 26, 1626.

On Wednesday, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer¹ in two hours could not get leave to speak; but, at last, when he had obtained leave, his motion was, that the preamble of the bill of subsidy might be read; which being done, the house would not allow of it, though pressed by the general committee, but would have it recommitted again, to the end (some say) that, as they had capitulated the easing of other grievances, so now they might include the duke himself as the main grievance of all.

Yesterday, Thursday, the higher house, at the instance of my Lord Say, ministered an oath to all the king's council at law, that they should be true and faithful to his majesty, to the intent that none of them might plead for the duke, who was desirous that Sergeant Richardson and Sergeant Crew might have been of his council. And when the duke stood up to have spoken, they would not hear

¹ Sir Richard Weston.

him ; nor yet would they proceed in any business for want of my Lord Arundel, to whom the House of Commons showed their affection, by not giving one voice against him, but all voices for him, in case of recusancy ; for his lordship being presented for a recusant by some of the county of Surrey, the house would not admit of the presentation, but absolutely cleared him ; whereas many other lords and knights all the kingdom over stood convict.

The same day, Thursday, also, his majesty sent a message to the lords, importing that, whereas they had misconstrued his former message, whereby they conceived his majesty would not restore the Earl of Arundel into their house during this session, he now signified his lordship should speedily return. But they (if it be not presumption to speak so of lords) murmured at the word *speedily*, as being too slow for their desires, who would have had him presently. My lord duke, my Lord of Dorset, my Lord of Carlisle, my Lord of Holland, stood all up, one after another, to have spoken, but could not be heard ; and, in fine, an order was made this morning in the upper house, that no bill should be read, nor any business at all despatched, till my Lord Arundel's actual restoration, they taking it for a high indignity that the House of Commons had the power to redeem two of their members in a few days, whereas their lordships cannot attain so much in some months.

And whereas there are some new barons—viz., my Lord Mandeville, Grandison, and Carleton—called by writ into the upper house to weigh down (as it is supposed) the balance on the duke's side ; the Lords have found out an ancient order of the house, that no lords called or created, *sedente parlamento*, shall have voices during the session, but only shall have the privilege of sitting among the rest.

And some say, my Lord of Suffolk having given his proxy to my Lord of Walden, his eldest son, and now, finding him *ducal*, hath revoked it, and given it to the Earl of Berkshire, his younger son, being the duke's professed opposite.

If the worst come to the worst, the duke hath his commission ready sealed to go ambassador-extraordinary

into the Low Countries, and my Lord Carleton goeth again Leiger, the states not being willing any new ambassador should sit with them.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, the 27th May, 1626.

For our bishops, the author of the letter in the enclosed paper, dated May 22nd, had a passage, which I omitted in the exscription, as having no joy in it; viz.,—"That the bishops were fallen into much neglect and scorn in the city, as men who had disclaimed their christendom." I am sorry to hear they are so habituated to flattery, that they seem not to know of any other duty that belongs unto, or beseems them. But all are not guilty, though the people (as they are wont to do) lay the imputation general. There are two good ones lately gone out of this ill world—Lukes, of Bath and Wells, and Senhouse, of Carlisle. God grant them good successors. The Bishop of Winchester is also very ill, and hath been long sick.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, June 3rd, 1626.

That you might not altogether want news this week, through your abundance last, we have bred some, that the stage being so fruitful of wonders, we academians might not be wanting to produce something for the world to wonder at. To tell you plainly, we have chosen the Duke of Buckingham our chancellor, and that with more than ordinary triumph. I will tell you as much as my time will let me.

Our chancellor, my Lord of Suffolk, died on Sunday, about two o'clock in the morning, which no sooner came to our ears on Monday, but about dinner-time arrives Dr. Wilson, my Lord of London's¹ chaplain, without letters, but with a message from his lord, that we should choose the duke, such being his majesty's desire and pleasure. Our heads met after sermon, where, by Dr. Wren,² Beale,³

¹ Dr. Mountain. ² Master of Peterhouse. ³ Master of St. John's College.

Man,¹ P Ashe,² this motion was urged with that vehemency, and, as it were, confidence of authority, that the rest were either awed or persuaded; and those that would not yet durst not adventure to make farther opposition, though they inclined (if it be lawful to say so) to more advised counsel. It was in vain to say that Dr. Wilson's bare word from his lord was no sufficient testimony of his majesty's pleasure, nor such as might be a ground of an act of such consequence; that we should by this act prejudge the parliament; that instead of patronage we sought for, we might bring a lasting scandal, and bring a general contempt and hatred upon the university, as men of most prostitute flattery; that it would not be safe for us to engage ourselves in public differences; that at least, to avoid the imputation of folly and temerity in the doing, it would be wisdom to wait our full time of fourteen days, and not to precipitate the election. To this last was answered, "the sooner the better, and more acceptable;" if we stayed to expect the event in parliament, it would not be worth "God a mercy."

Upon the news of this consultation and resolution of the heads, we of the body murmur; we run one to another to complain; we say the heads in this election have no more to do than any of us; wherefore we advise what to do, and whom to set up. Some are for my Lord Keeper, others for my Lord Andover (Berkshire). But lest we might be found over-weak, being distracted, we agree that he that shall find most voices of these or any other set up, the rest should all come to him. Hereupon, Tuesday morning, notwithstanding every head sent for his fellows to persuade them for the duke, some durst be so bold as to visit for the contrary in public; others more privately inquired how their friends and others were affected. But the same day, about dinner-time, the Bishop of London arrived unexpected, yet found his own college, Queen's, most bent and resolved another way, to his no small discontentment. At the same time comes to town Mr. Mason, my lord duke's secretary, and Mr. Cosins, and letters from my Lord of Durham, expressly signifying, in his majesty's

¹ Master of Trinity College.

² Master of Clare Hall.

name (as they told us and would have us believe), that his majesty would be well pleased if we chose the duke. My Lord Bishop labours; Mr. Mason visits for his lord; Mr. Cosin *for the most true patron of the clergy and of scholars*; masters belabour their fellows; Dr. Maw sends for his, one by one, to persuade them—some, twice over. On Thursday morning (the day appointed for the election) he makes a large speech in the college chapel, that they would come off unanimously. When the school-bell rang, he caused the college bell also to ring as to an act, and all the fellows to come into the hall, and to attend him to the schools for the duke, that so they might win the honour to have it accounted their college act. Divers in town got hackneys, and fled to avoid importunity. Very many, some whole colleges, were gotten by their fearful masters, the bishop and others, to suspend, who otherwise were resolved against the duke, and kept away with much indignation; and yet for all this stir the duke carried it but by three votes from my Lord Andover, whom we voluntarily set up against him without any motion on his behalf—yea, without his knowledge. You will not believe how they triumphed (I mean, the masters abovenamed) when they had got it. Dr. Pashe made his college exceed that night, &c. Some since had a good mind to have questioned the election for some reason; but I think they will be better advised for their own ease. We had but one doctor in the whole town durst (for so I dare speak) give with us against the duke, and that was Dr. Porter, of Queen's. What will the parliament say to us? Did not our burghesses condemn the duke in their charge given up to the Lords. I pray God we hear well of it; but the actors are as bold as lions, and I half believe would fain suffer that they might be advanced.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, June 10, 1626.

You shall have at this present not much news but what we University men have bred. On Saturday my Lord of Berkshire sent a grateful letter to express his obligation

to us who were his friends. It was directed to Mr. Chester, of Trinity College, whose brother lives with him. We were an *headless* company, and he could not direct it otherwise. The parliament was wonderfully exasperated by our election, aggravating it as an act of rebellion, and had sent letters to fetch up our doctors to answer it; but the king stopped them, and commanded them not to stir in this business of the University, which belonged not to them, but to himself. So it stayed for that time, and they will (as I ever thought) find, notwithstanding their mighty threats, that they do but beat the wind and strike at sprites. Sure I am that ours fear no colours, that I may say no more. Dr. Eden, our burges, whilst the business was arguing in the House of Commons, made a speech, desiring them, amongst many other things, not to have so hard a conceit of the University till they had more information; when perhaps they should find that which was done not to be an act of rebellion, but of loyalty and obedience. Whatsoever was more in his speech I know not, but that it was much distasted.

On Tuesday, at night, late, returned Mr. Reading, who went to present our election [unto the duke]. The duke gave him for a reward a chain of an 100^{li}. He brought with him letters from the duke, the king, and the two bishops. The two first were read publicly in the Regent House at the congregation on Wednesday, at three o'clock, the copies whereof I send you.¹ Perhaps you will imagine that from his majesty was purposely framed to stop all gaps when the parliament might enter upon us.

Dr. Meddus to the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, June 16, Friday, 1626.

[The letter commences with an account of a remarkable phenomenon that was seen on the Thames, near York House, a full description of which will be found in a subsequent page.]

* * * After which the duke, with the Earl of Holland—some say, the king—came thither in the duke's coach, which went presently forth and fetched the Earl of

¹ The letter from the king approves of the election, as chancellor of the University, of Buckingham, who is stated to be "a faithful servant of our dear father, of

Carlisle; then went out again, and after four o'clock brought thither four more; at what time the gate and wicket was shut, and, as is thought, they went to consultation about some affairs.

The same day the House of Commons sat from eight in the morning till past four afternoon, then rose to dine. It is said there spoke then in the house above two hundred persons. The business was only a question whether the bill of Subsidies, or Remonstrance to his majesty's letter on Friday before, should first be perfected. By the clamour of voices it could not, they say, be well discerned; but, upon dividing of the house, the number of those that would have the remonstrance first done was far greater than of those for the subsidies. At six o'clock again they returned, and sat till almost nine.

On Wednesday they sent to beseech audience of his majesty about serious business concerning all the commons of the land; to which his majesty answered, they should hear from him on Thursday morning. And on Thursday so they did, but not for audience, but a dissolution of the parliament, which makes us, and justly, to be much dejected, and hang our heads. That night also was the Earl of Bristol committed to the Tower; and it is feared some more may perhaps follow him thither.

Extract from another letter from London.

Thursday, June 15, 1626.

This day, between ten and eleven of the clock, was the parliament dissolved by a commission under the great seal of England, read publicly in the higher house of parliament. Yesterday, the lords sitting in council at Whitehall to argue whether it should be dissolved or not, were all with one voice against the dissolution of it; and to-day, when my lord keeper drew out the commission, to have read it, the peers sent four of their own body to his ma-

blesed memory, and ourself:" that from the duke is complimentary to the University, and promises, among other things, that the writer will make amends for his want of scholarship by his love unto the professors of it.

jesty, to let him know how dangerous this abruption would be to the State, and to beseech him the parliament might sit but two days longer. He answered, "*Not a minute.*"

The urgent motive of this disaster was a declaration of the Commons, in answer to his majesty's letter, sent them on Friday last, whereby he required they should despatch their subsidies by Saturday next. In this declaration, the duke was declared a common enemy both of church and state, and sharply taxed in every clause thereof, *et hinc illæ lachrymæ*. The Commons had prepared and refined it by Tuesday; yesterday (Wednesday) had ingrossed, and meant this morning to have sent it to his majesty by their speaker, and therefore sent yesterday to know whether it were his majesty's pleasure they should present it. To which the negative was returned, but with this intimation, that they should that morning know more of his majesty's mind.

On Tuesday, the Lord Conway put in his answer to my Lord of Bristol's accusations: and now this afternoon I hear my Lord of Bristol is committed close prisoner to the Tower; for the preservation of whose apology for himself, and charges against the duke, the lords were yesterday very solicitous.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, June 17, 1626.

I will tell you the last and worst first. It is the news here, that the parliament dissolved on Thursday night, when the Commons had made a remonstrance to his majesty, but would not grant him any supply for his necessities, unless they might have justice against the duke.¹

¹ It will be seen by how many rash and unconstitutional acts the king interposed to shield his favourite from parliamentary inquiry; and, perhaps, there never was a cause in which such inquiry had become more necessary, not only for the security of the Commonwealth, but for the honour of the crown. The historical student will find these passages pregnant with interest, and they deserve his best attention.

What will become of us now, God knows; but so fatal and invincible a destruction in times of so great danger cannot but produce a woful event, unless God be extraordinarily merciful to us; which let us all desire of him with bended knees and humbled hearts, and it may be he will yet save us.

We have had here much talk, ever since Tuesday, of a dreadful tempest of thunder and lightning at London, with such a storm of hail, as made the streets like channels of rivers, and drowned many cellars, &c. ; and in the concussion, a strange spectacle on the Thames near Whitehall drew the eyes of many with amazement to behold it. I received no exact description thereof till yesterday, when I had a letter from a friend living in Westminster, written the day after it happened, and so intended to have come to my hands sooner.

It contains as followeth :

“ London, June 13, 1626.

“ Yesterday, being Monday, we beheld a strange spectacle upon the Thames; for in the great storm of thunder, lightning, and hail, about three o'clock in the afternoon, the water began to be much troubled hard by the garden in Lambeth parish, over against Sir H. Fiennes's stairs. A sculler, (being then tide of ebb) creeping along under the shore, was fallen into this troubled place before he could espy it, which was then so strong, that it turned his boat six times round; yet, with hard labour, he and his fare escaped, and ran ashore amongst the willows; presently, the water very much rarified like a mist, began to rise into the form of a circle of thirty yards compass and ten feet high. The inside was hollow, and white with froth; without, there was a lett of water, much condensed, and very black. This whirlwind of water (as those that will be wise call it, for you must not say it is prodigious) ran very impetuously down the water, as far as the point, then took her course, crossing the water, and beat itself amain against the walls of York House Garden, at the very place where the duke is building a pair of new stairs close by the House. Therewith beating, it broke itself, a thick smoke, like that of a brewer's chimney, ascending from it as high as a man

could discern.¹ All this time, the weather being very black, there appeared right over above it, as the beholders thought, a very bright cloud, to the amazement of Whitehall and many very great courtiers, who beheld it out of their windows, as did many hundreds more. During the storm, the wall of St. Andrew's Church, in Holborn, was beaten down, and many of the coffins of the dead, which lay there buried, discovered. It was not done by a thunderbolt; but, howsoever, the wall was very strong."

Thus writes my friend.

On Saturday, the Lord Digby (not the Earl of Bristol) went over sea (some say into the Low Countries) to fight with Sir Alexander Brett. The occasion of the quarrel this: Brett began a health, which the Lord Digby pledged, and presently began another to the Earl of Bristol, which Brett would not answer; so they fell to words, and now are gone for blows. Sir Kenelm Digby is second to the lord, and Captain Killigrew to the knight.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, June 24, 1626.

I hear of a whirlwater upon the Thames confirmed by all I speak with, according to the relation I sent you at first. But for the falling of a cataract, (as Dr. Meddus in your last writes) as I heard it not before from any other, so I meet with many that deny it, and that there was no other water fell over the duke's water-gate than what came of the breaking there of the whirlwater, or, as some call it, the water-pillar.

But I will now tell you of an accident here at Cambridge, rare, if not strange, whereof I was yesterday morning an eye-witness myself. A book in decimo sento, of the finger size, found in the maw of a cod-fish, then opened in our fish-market, in the presence of many. In the same was two pieces of sail-cloth, one half an ell, at the least,

¹ "And so vanished," says another letter from an eye-witness, "with a crack or two of thunder after it. It lasted," saith the same, "half an hour."—*Note of Mr. Mead.*

of unequal breadth, but in some part very broad, the other about half a yard long, of the breadth of a pudding-bag. These found wrapped in the bottom of the stomach, the book above them.

The title of the book, being opened, was on the top of every page, *Preparation to the Crosse*. It was printed in an English letter, which, by the fashion spelling of some words, as *sonde* for *sand*, *easyar* for *easier*, and the like, seemed to be written about the end of King Henry VIII.: wherein I was afterwards fully confirmed by some other passages, if all be of one author.

When I first saw it, it seemed almost turned into a jelly and consumed. Yet, though it were loathsome then to handle, or stand over, yet, finding the table of the two books of the *Preparation to the Crosse* in the middle part, and not so slimy, with a tender lifting with my knife I read them all, put clean paper between the leaves to preserve them, and since exscribed all, being the contents of every several chapter. The first was a *Preparation to the Crosse, and how it must be patiently borne*. I took special notice of two other. "1. If thou be tempted of the faith of thy parents, as wherefore not thou [believe] that which thy forefathers have believed? 2. If thou be tempted of strange Religion, of worshipping of saints, pictures, or images, or men." There was another book at the end of these, in whose title leaf the first of the contents was, *A Letter which was written to the faithful followers of Christ's Gospel*.

I saw all with mine own eyes, the fish, the man, the pieces of sail-cloth, the book, and observed all I have written. Only, I saw not the opening of the fish, which yet many did, being upon the fishwoman's stall in the market, who first cut off his head, to which the maw hanging and seeming much stuffed with somewhat, it was searched, and all found as aforesaid. He that had his nose as near as I yesternorning, would have been persuaded there was no imposture here without witness. The fish came from Lynn. How they fed him there, I know not.

London will lend the king no money. Their excuses are: 1, King James's great debts to them already; 2, their

impoverishment by this late plague; 3, the breach of parliament, where their hopes lay for increase of trade.

A report of the Earl of Bristol to be tried very suddenly at the King's Bench bar; and the lord duke in the Star Chamber, some say next Thursday. But the eight parliamentaries who gave their charge against him to the Lords will not accuse him in that court. Mr. Attorney had sent for them. No other parliament committed but Digby, with whom they say that Sir Francis Steward, out of his noble courtesy, went in the coach, and brought him to his lodging. Some say that Sir John Saville shall be a privy-counsellor and president of York, and Dorset a privy counsellor.

There died none of the plague this last week at London, but 110 in all.

The fear of the Spanish invasion is again laid down, and contemned as a fable.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, June 30, 1626.

The affairs last emergent are that, whereas the city had three several times, upon three solemn accesses to the Lords, utterly denied to lend, although upon plate, jewels; yet yesterday, in the afternoon, the aldermen are content to lend £20,000 upon assurance out of the petty customs. Yesterday, in the afternoon also, the high commissioners at Lambeth, being the archbishop himself, Dr. Balcanqual, Dr. Good, Sir Henry Martin, the king's advocate, and all of them of a contrary opinion to Montagu, yet called the stationers and printers before them, whom it concerned, and charged them neither to print nor sell any of those seven or eight books, which, during the parliament, had been published against Montagu.

Yesterday, likewise, the Duke of Buckingham's appearance in the Star Chamber was formally taken of him by an officer at York House; and the Earl of Bristol's appearance at the Tower: and some say they are to be included in one bill, and to answer, *ore tenus*, in that court three weeks hence. And yet some report the duke will go general to sea, in the fleet of 30 sail.

The king, they say, before his going out of town, will resolve of a certain time when to assemble the parliament, for all projects (otherwise called new counsels) of Sir Edwin Sandys, Sir John Saville, and other counsellors of the Commonwealth do fail.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, July 1, 1626.

To be more fully satisfied concerning the accident on the Thames, I wrote to Mr. Boswell, who answers me thus:—"There was such a meteor, June 12, as you inquire of, but whether a *turbo*, cataract, thunderstorm, or mass of crusty matter, it is not yet certain. I think it was the last; and that in the falling it opened, and so breathed forth a living smoke, which wrought round, and cochlear-wise, as if it had been out of a brewer's chimney for half a quarter of an hour. The greater parts fell at the sluice upon the banks fields, and so moved (encompassed with a mist, all appearing together as big as a colly barge), I say so moved like an arrow shot up the river, till it came right against the Prince's Stairs, at Whitehall, ever furrowing and casting up the waters in a great and foaming wave, until it thence descended as far as York House, where, against the garden-wall, it rustled the waters, and sank, raising a great and gross smoke, as if a boat of lime had sunk there. The violence thereof upon the waters was such, as two pair of oars and a sculler were cast back at least twenty or thirty paces. I leave you to judge what it was in nature, *ne quid dicam prodigii*."

On Wednesday morning, June 28, the mayor, aldermen, and common council, at London, met the third time, to give the king their final answer, whether they would lend him any money or not. Some say, they were not resolved on Thursday at noon; but it is now talked they have denied. There hath been a talk, as though this parliament should be called again, as not dissolved in law, by reason of the Lords' advice against it. The committees would not be gotten to inform against the duke in the Star Chamber, alleging they had been messengers of the Commons' house to the Lords. Themselves knew nothing, but spoke only

what they were bid. Besides that, they could not, if they would, undertake such a business, without danger of being questioned upon their lives the next parliament. This did put the Lords to a great nonplus, especially some who had caused the dissolving of the parliament only for this plot.

On Wednesday last, came suddenly from the king and council, a charge for a general watch and ward all over the city, householders themselves to watch in person. The cause not certainly known, but thought to be upon a rumour of some waterman coming up the Thames to demand something of the admiral.

There is a general fast at London next Wednesday. It will come into the country. Dr. Maw¹ is to be bishop of Exeter, and hold all he hath got well by his forwardness in the duke's election. Dr. White shall be Carlisle; Laud of David's shall be Bath and Wells; and, as some talk, Dr. Field (Llandaff) translated to St. David's.

Mr. Smithson, of King's College, hath gotten lately some commissaryship of some £10 per annum, came to some officer under the duke, for the seal, &c., who gravely put to him these two interrogatories. 1. What was it worth? 2. Whether he had given his voice in the late election for or against the Duke of Buckingham? Is not this fine? and yet we have doctors defend it as worthily done, that the duke should know his friends from his foes, before he would do anything for them. You will not believe how some great ones here applauded it, to the no small impeachment of their discretion.

My Lord of Armagh preached at court on Sunday. I will tell you in my next.

VERSES ON THE EXPEDITION TO CADIZ.

There was a crow, sat on a stone,
He flew away, and there was none:
There was a man, that ran a race,
When he ran fast, he ran apace:
There was a maid that eat an apple,
When she eat two, she ate a couple:
There was an ape, sat on a tree,
When he fell down, down fell he.
There was a fleet, that went to Spain,
When it returned, it came again.

¹ Leonard Maw, D.D., Master of Trinity College, Cambridge. He was not made Bishop of Exeter upon this vacancy, but Bishop of Bath and Wells, in 1628.

Mr. Pory to the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, this Saturday morning, being the 1st of July, 1626.

How much am I bound to your love, that are pleased so far to dispense with your ague, as to let me know from your own hand what is become of our common friend, whom I suppose, if you had accompanied in his northern progress, change of air and action would have exhausted the dregs of your disease.

On Monday, about three in the afternoon, the king, passing into the queen's side¹, and finding some Frenchmen, her servants, unreverently dancing and curvetting in her presence, took her by the hand, and led her into his lodgings, locking the door after him, and shutting out all, saving only the queen; presently, upon this my Lord Conway called forth the French bishop and others of that clergy into St. James's Park, where he told them, the king's pleasure was, all her majesty's servants of that nation, men and women, young and old, should depart the kingdom, together with the reasons that enforced his majesty so to do. The bishop said much upon it that, being in the nature of an ambassador, he could not go, unless the king his master should command him. But he was told again, that the king his master had nothing to do here in England; and that, if he were unwilling to go, England would send force enough to convey him away hence.

The bishop had as much reason to dance loth to depart, as the king and all his well-affected subjects had to send him packing; for he had as much power of conferring orders, and dispensing with sacraments, oaths, &c., as the pope could give; and so, by consequence, was a most dangerous instrument to work the pope's ends here.

The king's message being thus delivered by my Lord Conway, his lordship, accompanied with Mr. Treasurer, and Mr. Comptroller, went into the queen's lodgings, and told all the French likewise, that were there, that his majesty's pleasure was, they should all depart thence to Somerset House, and remain there till they knew further his ma-

¹ Of the palace, Whitehall.

jesty's pleasure. The women howled and lamented, as if they had been going to execution, but all in vain; for the yeomen of the guard, by that lord's appointment, thrust them and all their country folks out of the queen's lodgings, and locked the doors after them.

It is said also, the queen, when she understood the design, grew very impatient, and broke the glass windows with her fist. But since, I hear, her rage is appeased, and the king and she, since they went together to Nonsuch, have been very jocund together.

The same day, the French being all at Somerset House, the king, as I have heard some affirm, went thither, and made a speech to them to this purpose: that he hoped the good king, his brother of France, would not take amiss what he had done; for the French, he said, (particular persons he would tax) had occasioned many jars and discontents between the king and him; such, indeed, as longer were insufferable. He prayed them, therefore, to pardon him, if he sought his own ease and safety; and said, moreover, that he had given order to his treasurer to reward every one of them for their year's service. So the next morning, being Tuesday, there was distributed among them £11,000, in money, and about £20,000 worth of jewels.¹

Of this magnanimous act I think the king hath such satisfactory reasons, as will stop the mouths of all gain-

¹ The distribution was a liberal one, according to the original draft of it still preserved among the Harleian MSS. It was as follows:—" *Imprimis*, to Madame Trugesse, £1000. To the two governesses, and five maids of honour, £2200. To Madame Nurse and her husband, £1000. To the sempstress, starcher, two pages of the wardrobe, and apothecary, £50 each. To the five chamberers, £1200. To the treasurer, £150. Amongst the three gentleman ushers, quarterly waiters, the same sum; the three who were daily waiters had £100 each; whilst the two gentlemen ushers of the privy chambers received double that sum each. The physician had £300. The four squires, £100 each. Amongst the four grooms of the privy chamber, were distributed £140. The six cup-bearers, carvers, and ewers, £360 amongst them. The surgeon had only £60. The four pages of the presence had £160—the same sum being divided amongst the eight grooms of the chamber. The yeomen of the wardrobe had £40—those of the pantry the same. The grooms of the robes, £30. The six footmen, £20 each. The two pages of the robes, the two children of the kitchen, and the saddler, the same. The two scourers of the kitchen, £15 each—the aid of the kitchen, £12. The priests received £2000, exclusive of a jewel to the bishop, valued at £3000. The Comte de Selliers and his wife, in jewels, £3000; Madame St. George, in jewels, the same; and the Comte de Scipieres, the same. Making a total distribution of £22,602."

sayers. One might be the extravagant power of this bishop, who, when he was last in France, suing to be a secretary of state, fell short of that, and so took instructions from the pope's nuncio; which in case he could bring to effect, he was promised a cardinal's hat, which now lies in the dust. The rest of the clergy were the most superstitious, turbulent, and jesuitical priests that could be found in all France, very fit to make firebrands of sedition in a foreign state; so that his majesty, as long as he gave them entertainment, did but nourish so many vipers in his bosom. Nay, their insolences towards the queen were not to be endured; for, besides that these bawdy knaves would, by way of confession, interrogate her how often in a night the king had kissed her;¹ and no longer ago than upon St. James's-day last those hypocritical dogs made the poor queen walk afoot (some add barefoot) from her house at St. James's to the gallows at Tyburn, thereby to honour the saint of the day in visiting that holy place, where so many martyrs forsooth had shed their blood in defence of the Catholic cause. Had they not also made her to dabble in the dirt, in a foul morning, from Somerset House to St. James's, her luciferian confessor riding along by her in his coach.² Yea, they have made her to go barefoot, to spin, to cut her meat out of dishes, to wait at the table, to serve her servants, with many other ridiculous and absurd penances; and if they dare thus insult over the daughter, sister, and wife of so great kings, what slavery would they not make us, the people, to undergo? Besides all this, letters of some of the French about her majesty are said to have been intercepted, by which it hath appeared they have not only practised with the pope on one side, and the English

¹ There are reasons for believing that some such interference as here excited the indignation of John Pory, caused the king to send the whole crew of meddlers and mischief-makers about their business, for which he gave the Duke of Buckingham directions in the following:—"I command you to send all the French away to-morrow out of town, if you can, by fair means, but stick not long in disputing; otherwise force them away, driving them away like so many wild beasts, until you have shipped them, and so the devil go with them. Let me hear of no answer but of the performance of my command. So I rest your faithful, constant, loving friend,
C. R."

² Bassompierre, the French ambassador, found it necessary to deny this statement before the council.

papists on the other side, but have had intelligence also with the Spaniard.

It was intended they should have presently departed, but they are not yet gone, and Monday next is said to be peremptory day of their departure. Meanwhile, they took possession of all the queen's apparel and linen which they found at Somerset House, as being their vales (whether plate or jewels also I cannot certainly tell); but the queen having left her but one gown and two smocks to her back, these French booters were entreated by some of the lords of the council to send her majesty some apparel; so they sent her only one old satin gown, keeping all the residue to themselves. Her master of the horse likewise, the Count de Lepieres, laid claim to all the horses and furniture under his charge; but in vain. It is hoped, after they are gone, the queen will by degrees find the sweetness of liberty, in being exempted from those beggarly rudiments of popish penance.

Two English priests she hath now allowed her, viz.—Potter and Godfrey. Some add a third, to wit, Preston. All three of them have taken the oath of allegiance; some say of supremacy also.

Two of the queen's women servants do stay with her, namely, her nurse and one Madame Vantelet, that hath used to dress her. Besides, there be some dozen others of the inferior sort, as bakers, cooks, &c., retained here. But the English ladies sworn of the bedchamber are—the Duchess of Buckingham, the Marchioness Hamilton, and the Countesses of Carlisle and Denbigh, against whom, at their first being appointed, the French shut the doors, as presaging what would befall them, whereas now ours have cried quittance with them. And upon this occasion the Count of Tillieres, her lord chamberlain, rode post on Thursday was sennight into France; but some say he was stopped at Dover, till such time as a messenger went from his majesty to carry the French king word of the deed done, and the reasons thereof. Now it is thought that my Lord Carleton, who went for France on Monday was sennight, went to give the first advertisement thereof,

although it were given out he went to treat of a peace with Gondomar.

Yesterday, my Lord of Pembroke was sworn lord steward of the household, and his brother, the Earl of Montgomery, lord chamberlain, in his brother's stead. My Lord of Pembroke, because he has no heir of his own body, is now presently to assure my Lord of Montgomery's son £4000 a-year, land; and when the marriage between him and the duke's daughter comes to be accomplished, to make it up £10,000 a-year: the duke to give his daughter £10,000 at the perfecting of the marriage, and £10,000 more within a-year after.

The Duchess of Tremouille is come over out of Holland with her daughter, who is lately married to my Lord Strange, and hath brought him down upon the nail a portion of £24,000, he making her but £12,000 a-year jointure. Sir Thomas Edmondes, treasurer of the household, is married to the Lady Zouch, who is mother to the Earl of Huntingdon.

The constant report, that affirmed about the town, my Lord of Essex's death, is proved but a fable.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, July 7, 1626.

Mr. Scott, who wrote *Vox Populi*, and should within a month or two have come to be the Queen of Bohemia's household chaplain, as he came out from the church from preaching (being preacher to the English garrison at Utrecht), accompanied with his brother and a merchant, was stabbed and murdered by a soldier¹ of my Lord Wimbledon's, who being apprehended and examined said, he did it as a good work, to take away an enemy to the king

¹ There was printed at London, in 1628, in quarto, "A Brief Relation of the Murder of Mr. Thomas Scott, Preacher of God's Word, and Bachelor of Divinity, committed by John Lambert, Soldier of the Garrison of Utrecht, the 18th of June, 1626. With his Examination, Confession, and Execution." In the certificate subjoined to this relation, and signed by Jeremiah Elborough, preacher of the English church at Utrecht, and Hugh Hankins, commander of the Lord Wimbledon's foot company, both of whom were present at Lambert's confession upon the rack and at his death, it appears that the murderer, who was evidently a madman, talked of the spirit of his mistress, the favourite to Queen Elizabeth, the late Queen of England, whose spirit transmigrated into her majesty the Queen of Bohemia; which queen so favoured him, that she intended to receive him into her service. And considering with himself why he was not entertained into her

and state. But, being tormented, is said to have confessed that he was hired for money to do it, for preventing the coming forth of a book he was writing of our last Cadiz action. His right hand was first cut off, and then he was executed.

The brewers here have been all at court, before the Lords, about an imposition to be laid upon beer, ale, or malt. It is said to be in agitation that his majesty shall not diet his courtiers, but put them to board-wages.

The Earl of Warwick, and some others, had prepared four or five ships to go upon adventure to sea, being victualled and in part manned, but are now stayed for his majesty's service; yea, the earl also put out from being lord lieutenant of Essex, and the Earl of Essex put in again. It is constantly said, that the duke goes in person to sea with the fleet; yet some, notwithstanding, doubt it.

Yesterday, at Chelsea House, the duke feasted the king and queen.

It hath rained here every day, more or less, since the 10th of June. There is newly set forth by the king a book, declaring the true causes which moved his majesty to assemble, and after enforced him to dissolve the two last meetings in Parliament.

Extract from another letter from London, of the same date.

To-day is here arrived, from Gravesend, the ambassador of the King of Denmark, who, (they say) for want of promised supplies from his confederates, makes no progress in that war; but that Tilly, on the contrary, proceeds with his victories like a torrent, having lately taken Cassel, the chief town of the Landgrave of Hesse.

Being to-day at dinner with a privy counsellor, his lordship was pleased to ask me what they discoursed in Paul's concerning the King of Spain's preparation; I answered, they were confident the king would perform no great matter this year. "Then," said his lordship, "the king

service, a spirit suggested unto him that Mr. Scott hindered him, and, until such times as the said Mr. Scott was killed, he should not be entertained for her majesty's service; whereupon he resolved to kill him.

and we do in vain sit in council from morning till night, as it seems they understand matters there better than we do at the board; and this morning," said he, "the king hath signed 120 letters to the lieutenants of shires to have all their forces both by sea and land in a readiness; the fleet that is to be employed westward and southward being to have its rendezvous at Portsmouth, and to be employed northward at Harwich. The duke certainly goes admiral in person, my Lord Willoughby¹ vice-admiral, and my Lord of Denbigh² rear-admiral; the whole fleet consisting of fifty sail, which are victualled for six months, and are now a second time new graved and callowed." Besides, when I told his lordship of a report that the King of Spain having visited many of his provinces to gather contributions towards the wars, they utterly deny it, saying, they had rather give him money to make peace than war. On the contrary, his lordship affirmed that the people of Spain had now for the advancement of the Catholic cause given a larger contribution to the king than to any of his predecessors. "I think," said his lordship, "the King of Spain cannot under three years time conveniently prepare an armada thoroughly sufficient to invade England. But what if the King of Spain will strain himself to do some great matter on the sudden? Are we to stand secure? All persuaders to security at this time are the greatest enemies to the state." Hitherto, his lordship.

After Sunday next, all the tables at court are to be put down, and the courtiers to be put on board-wages, except only for four persons, to wit, the lord chamberlain, the duke, as master of the horse, the secretary that waits, and the groom of the stole. They say likewise that the king meaneth to revoke the greatest part of the pensions, which, at this present, amount to £60,000 a-year.

On Wednesday, the Earl of Bridgewater was sworn a privy counsellor; but my Lord of Buckingham not yet. The king goes no further in progress than Windsor, an

¹ Francis, fifth lord. He was drowned at Barbadoes in 1666.

² Previously Sir William Fielding. He proved himself a faithful partizan for Charles in the subsequent struggle, distinguishing himself as a military commander, and was killed in a contest with the parliamentarians near Birmingham, April 3, 1643.

argument, said that lord to-day, of dangerous times, which caused the king to retire himself near unto this town.

Letters, I hear, to draw a voluntary benevolence, are sent down into all shires; and those justices of peace who themselves adverse to the duke in parliament are to be displaced. The king makes already some preparation for his crowning in Scotland against the next May.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, July 8, 1626.

The money which the aldermen gave the king, they neither presented in the name of a loan nor of their own proper gift, but as that which was intended for a present to his majesty if he had rode through the city. This I am told by some from London.

The armed watch in the city is said still to continue; no other cause known but that supposed of the watermen's coming to demand their wages of the duke. My Lord of Essex came to the king for leave to go to his charge in the Low Countries. Before, the Duke had offered him the vice-admiralship, but he refused. The king asked him why he would not accept it, who answered, he would have accepted, and far meaner office to his majesty's service, if his majesty himself had offered it; but to receive it from another he thought not so fit, as for other reasons, so especially because he knew not his majesty's pleasure. Whereupon the king, displeased, bade him go whither he would, and come again when he sent for him.

The manner of the presentation of the Duke of Buckingham his Grace to the Chancellorship of the University of Cambridge.

Upon the 12th of July, 1626, the vice-chancellor, heads of colleges, and others appointed to attend in this service, set out to Ware the first night, and the next morning to London, where, about three or four of the clock in the afternoon, they all met at Durham House, and there put on their robes, hoods, habits, and caps; and the senior bedel and register were sent by Mr. Vice-Chancellor to

view the place appointed for the entertainment, and fit the same with a chair for the duke, if he pleased to sit, and a little table to stand before the vice-chancellor and orator right before the duke, for them to make their orations at. But the duke sat not in his chair, but stood behind it at both the orations, and whilst he delivered his own speech. When the bedel and register returned from York House, where the admission was to be, and had signified how things were ordered, the junior bedel went there before with the masters of arts, first two in rank, in their usual hoods and habits and caps, and then the non-regents and bachelors in divinity, in their gowns, hoods, and caps; then the taxers and proctors, in their hoods and habits, &c.; and then the proctors with their books; then the senior bedel, in his gold chain (given him by the duke), and in his velvet cap went directly before the vice-chancellor; the Bishop of Durham and three other bishops in their rochets; then all the doctors in their scarlets and caps; all these two in rank: and in this order they went until they came to York House fore-court; and then, near the door in the garden, the masters of arts and bachelors in divinity made a stand in care; and then the bedels came to the vice-chancellor, and went directly before them, through the masters of arts, bachelors in divinity, and non-regents; the bishops and doctors following him into the duke's garden, and all the aforesaid company after them, where they passed on almost in the midway that leadeth up into the duke's lodgings, and the duke, with other nobles, met the vice-chancellor, bishops, and doctors, and saluted them all in very kind manner; and after he had saluted them, he made a low *cong e*, or courtesy, to all the rest of the University; and then went forward, and, with Mr. Vice-Chancellor, went up the stairs into the room appointed for the entertainment and orations. Whither, being come, the vice-chancellor stayed at the aforesaid table, and the duke and the nobles went up to the place where his chair stood. Then the vice-chancellor, after some stay, until the company and crowd was seated, made low obeisance to him, and began his oration, the heads whereof, as I remember, were these: the sorrow of the University for the loss of the former, and the joy of

his grace, with many thanks for the favours he had formerly showed, as before he bore office with us, and the great hopes the University had of his favour and protection hereafter.

Then the vice-chancellor beckoned to the register for the patent, which, received, he opened and read; and then, according to the contents of the same, he desired his grace to accept of the said office and patent, and, kissing it, delivered the same to him; and then the vice-chancellor, stooping, went forward from the table, and took the duke by the hand, and said to him thus, or this effect: "*Dabis fidem te observaturum leges, privilegia, et consuetudines Academicæ Cantabrigiensis.*"

Then the vice-chancellor, still holding the duke by the hand, the senior proctor also out of his book read as followeth: "*Dabis etium fidem in verbo honoris, quod officium Cancellanatus Academicæ Cantabrigiensis bene et fideliter præstabis.*"

Then the vice-chancellor called to the bedel for the Book of Statutes, which he also kissed and delivered it to the duke, telling him that those were the laws and statutes which they were governed by; and desired him to be pleased for his part to see them observed, and to protect the University in the execution of the same.

Then he signified that the whole senate of the University had sent their orator, who, in the name of the whole University, was to speak unto him, and desired his grace to be pleased to give him audience. The orator's oration ended, the duke made a speech to the whole assembly.

And then they all viewed the duke's lodgings, and walked in the gardens, where in one of the cloisters there was music. And when the tables were set, they went to supper. The vice-chancellor sat at the upper end of the table, by the duke, and nobles, and bishops, and the doctors sat, and the orator, proctors, taxers, and bedels, then the others in their seniority at another table, others at a table at the end of that table.

Note that no man was urged to pledge any health. Those that attended (if any health was to be pledged) gave him a greater or lesser glass, as he desired, and of what wine he called for.

Remember, that there were two chairs set, one for our chancellor to sit in at his admission, and another on the left side of it for the vice-chancellor to sit in, when he admitted the chancellor, and when the proctor readeth *Dabis fidem*, &c.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, July 14, 1626.

On Sunday, his majesty feasted the Venetian ambassador, and on Monday morning dissolved all the tables at court save four and his own. And it is said that there are £110,000 yearly in pensions payable out of the exchequer, there shall be no payment made in two years of them. Yet is likewise said, there is a commission granted, to consider which afterwards are fit to be continued and which not.

The Earl of Carlisle on Monday feasted the queen, where, it is said, were four pheasants in a dish and two whole salmons. The duke, on Tuesday, rode in his coach with the Venetian ambassadors to the baiting of a lion in the Tower. Yesterday his grace feasted them at dinner at York House, where afterwards came the delegates of the university to invest him into the chancellorship.

On Wednesday evening (a thing unusual) was proclaimed, that all whose houses of habitation are on the coast towns or towards the sea do forthwith repair thither with their whole families; and there remain during all the dangerous time of wars, lest the absence of such might encourage the sooner the enemy to invade us, and give him more advantage to endamage us.

On Saturday last the good Earl of Leicester¹ having been at court, going and returning by water to Baynard's Castle, fell into an apoplexy, and thereof yesterday between eleven and twelve at noon died, being in great debt. By his death is one good pension out of the exchequer of £1000 or £1200 by the year fallen.

¹ Robert Sidney, the first Earl of Leicester of that name. He was younger brother of Sir Philip Sidney. Mr. Collins, in his *Memoirs of the Sidneys*, p. 120, prefixed to the letters and memorial of that family, says that this earl died at Penshurst, 13th July, 1626.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, July 22, 1626.

In Scotland they are growing into a combustion. The king sent to have Sir Francis Bruce sworn master of the ordnance. The Earl Mar¹ answered he should not be master of the ordnance, come what would of it. About the same time, my Lord Maxwell² had sent up his rich and gilded president's chariot, intending to come himself presently after it; but they hewed it all to pieces, and bade those who brought it tell him, that if he came himself, they would hew him into as many pieces.

On Monday the judges sat in Westminster Hall to persuade the people to pay subsidies; but there arose a great tumultuous shout amongst them, "A parliament! a parliament! or else no subsidies."

They say the College of Physicians at London have given up their verdict, that the state of the duke's body is not fit to endure the sea.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, July 24, 1626.

That which was then in agitation, was a warrant come to the city, to arm 4000 men even to their knapsacks (over and besides the train bands), and all to be householders, and ready at an hour's warning to go quarter themselves in the Isle of Sheppy. But there was made a double demur, one because the letters came from some of the lords, and not from the king: secondly, for that by their charter they are for defence of the city, and not to go further than the lord mayor goes, unless it be for guard of the king's person.

The levying of the subsidies verbally granted in parliament being propounded to the subsidy-men in Westminster Hall, all of them (saving some thirty amongst five hundred, and they all the king's servants) cried "A parliament! a

¹ John, seventh earl. He had exercised great influence in Scottish affairs in the preceding reign.

² Robert, eighth lord, created Earl of Nithsdale, who in the subsequent troubles obtained great celebrity by his valiant defence of Carlaverock, in 1640, against the Parliament. He died in 1646.

parliament!" They were called Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday; but they would not be gotten off at the last, more than those who subscribed at the beginning. The same was done in Middlesex on Monday also in five or six several places; but far more are said to refuse than grant. At Hicks's Hall, the men of Middlesex assembled thither, when they had heard a speech for the purpose, made their obeisance, and so went out without any answer, affirmative or negative. In Kent, the whole county denied, saying, that subsidies were matters of too high a nature for them to meddle withal; that they durst not deal there withal, lest hereafter they might deeply be called in question.

This ill success in those and some other places make a speech in the mouths of some, as if his majesty would supply himself by the sale of lands *in capite*, whereby it is likely he might be soon and plentifully provided, were there a parliament to confirm the sales.

It is said, that since the dissolving of housekeeping, his majesty is but slenderly attended; nor will the country pay money instead of viands *in specie*, nor the blackguard and other mean attendants in the court be appeased; so that is thought ere long the table must and will again be restored.

The fleet being now almost ready to go to sea, as the duke by the advice of the physicians stays at home, so my Lord Willoughby, that should have gone vice-admiral, is gone into Lincolnshire to cure himself of the yellow jaundice. Some affirm the Earl of Suffolk (who is chosen knight of the garter) goes general of the fleet; but most opinions give it to my Lord Denbigh, who will not want to advise him the best old sea captains. Captain Pennington hath the vogue to go his vice-admiral.

There is lately a commission established to advance the king's revenues. The commissioners, eleven, viz., Lord Treasurer, Duke of Buckingham, the two Chancellors of the Exchequer and Duchy, Sir Thomas Savage, Sir John Saville, Sir Walter Pye, Sir Robert Pye; auditors Sutton, and Goston, and Sir John Coke, secretary; Sir Edwin Sandys, like *sal insipiens*, being quite discarded; whose

project was not to propound levying subsidies as now, but actually, without asking any leave, to levy the same.

The Lord Maxwell, the intended Viceroy of Scotland's coach was burnt to ashes: the riches would not save it, the Scots belike fearing it might contain some superstition.

The king questionless means not to go for Scotland, whatsoever was talked, having ordered his guests otherwise, as to Farnham Castle.

They of Scotland cry out amain of the Duke of Buckingham, saying they will know how King James, the Duke of Lennox, the Marquis of Hamilton, came to their end.

The young Lord Digby was for a short time restrained of his liberty, because he answered not Mr. Attorney, interrogating *ad oppositum*; but since he is released, and word sent to the Countess of Bristol, that she, and her children, and servants, may have free access to the earl in the Tower.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, July 21, 1626.

We hear of a falling out between the king and queen for her going in a kind of devotion to visit that holy place of Tyburn. This can those damned priests about her make her do.

The three English ladies, Denbigh, Hamilton, and Carlisle, are sworn of her bedchamber, notwithstanding there was made in France a great hubbub about it.

On Sunday next (July 30) here at Whitehall, Lord Chamberlain the Earl of Montgomery, and the Earl of Pembroke Lord Steward of the Household, their having on this day sennight passed a formal contract for a future marriage between the Earl of Montgomery's¹ son of seven (being also my Lord Pembroke's heir) and the duke's daughter² of three years old. It is added, moreover, that the Earls of Carlisle, Holland, and Bridgewater, shall be sworn of his majesty's bedchamber. And the Earls of Dorset and Salisbury are already sworn privy counsellors.

¹ Charles, who died in his father's lifetime, in 1635, before cohabitation with the Lady Mary.

² Lady Mary.

The knights of the garter have got an addition on the left shoulder of their cloaks, being a fair cross, inscribed within the words of the garter *Honi soit, &c.*, after the manner of the chivalry in France, Italy, and Spain.

There is now going an ambassador to the King of Morocco, for releasing the English captives taken at sea by the Moors of Sallee to the number of about 1000 persons. This ambassador undertakes to bring home a Hollandish pirate called Campano, who in a short time hath taken 130 sail of ships, and desires to yield himself, his ships and followers, to our king's mercy.

My Lord of Bristol hath had leave to go from the Tower to his own house in St. Giles's, but is returned hither again, yet in the nature of a free prisoner. Now at length there are come into the Star Chamber two bills, one against him, and another against the duke.

This next week, it is reported the tables shall be restored in court.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, July 29, 1626.

For news, a letter even now tells me, that the going forth of our fleet is yet hanging in suspense; and, for more discouragement, great store of beef and 200 tons of beer are thrown overboard, because it stunk. That the raising of money, by name of subsidies, is now abandoned, and the commissioners entreat the people for a benevolence. That on last Thursday, the borough of Westminster was called together, who have contributed freely and liberally, some £10, some £5, some £2, some 10s., some 5s. And to this benevolence the poor are called as well as the rich. That the king went on Wednesday to Oatlands, and was to be at London again as to-day. That on Sunday (to-morrow) the Earl of Pembroke should receive his white staff for the office of steward, and the Earl of Montgomery (whose eldest son is contracted to the Duke of Buckingham's daughter) the staff for chamberlain. That the Lord Carleton was gone to France, to make way for the Duke of Buckingham, who is to follow, they say, as ambassador.

What mysteries of state are in hand time will discover ; but this is certain, that our merchant ships are again stayed in France, and such also of the king's as used to transport tin out of Cornwall ; neither will there be one penny more of the queen's dowry paid.

Sir John Ogle (so one writes to me in a postscript) hath lately entered into orders, and is a devout preacher.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, August 4, 1626.

Though the former report of my Lord Carleton's going into France, as was thought, for an overture of peace between us and Spain, said to have been much laboured by the French queen mother, may have some truth in it ; yet perhaps this going might also be for preparing of the French king's and the queen mother's affections aforehand, concerning a business, which, how secretly soever it was carried, yet it seems the queen's lord chamberlain scented, and therefore went also over thither.

Last Sunday began this business a little to work, though covertly ; but on Monday fully. The lady duchess, the Marchioness of Hamilton, the Countess of Denbigh, her mother, the Countess of Carlisle, were sworn of the queen's bedchamber, but were not by the French ladies permitted to come in thither and give their attendance ; whereupon, on Monday, the king had the queen to dinner ; they were very merry. Having dined, and being withdrawn, his majesty began by degrees to break the matter unto her ; and, to be short, told her, he must needs cashier all her attendants, priests and others, males and females, but would give her those that were better ; and presently confines them all to Denmark House, save only one, who, upon importunate suit, is said to stay with her. The rest are to be sent away on Saturday and Monday, and his majesty gives among them (being about 300, besides their attendants and children, who in all are said to be 1100) £15,000. But the bishop refuseth to go, pretending he hath the French king's commission of ambassador, who never before made show thereof, and therefore cannot now

serve his turn. She is to have two priests for her chaplains, Potter and Cotterell, said to be men of a milder temper, and far from the Jesuit's faction and humour. The cause of this discharge is doubtless great, and perhaps something of a higher nature than their exorbitant and insufferable outstripping of all measure of religion and duty. Now, we are to look how it will be taken in France, which, methinks, should not be ill, seeing themselves with Spain, and Spain with them, are precedents unto his majesty herein.

It was certainly said, there would be a match between the duke's daughter and the Earl of Montgomery's son: and also, that last Sunday, the new lord chamberlain should have been made lord steward, and his brother, the Earl of Montgomery, lord chamberlain. But there is a stay of all, by reason the lord chamberlain demurs, as it seems, from present insuring his estate upon his nephew.

There is also speech of another match towards, between the duke's nephew, the Lord Fielding, and the Earl of Somerset's daughter: which two matches would bring a great accession both of estate and alliance.

The Earl of Bristol rides daily abroad; and, as is said, freed from the Tower, following of his business about the cross bills in the Star Chamber: and it is said, the king will have those causes opened and heard in that court in his own presence before the term begins.

The king and queen (which I forgot before) rode on Tuesday, after dinner, to Nonsuch, and they, for aught I hear, are there yet.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, August 5, 1626.

On Monday, between one and two o'clock, my lord keeper, lord chamberlain, made proclamation at the court gate, that all French people, of what condition, state, quality, dignity, soever, should depart the court to Denmark House, there to remain till order should be taken for transporting them into France.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead, at Sir Martin Stuteville's, at Dalham, Suffolk.

London, August 11, 1626.

Since my last, you shall understand, that Monday last were attending at Somerset House thirty coaches, and fifty carts, to have, after dinner, carried the French and their goods away, supper being provided for them at Rochester. But so they would not depart, till they were disengaged of moneys they stood engaged for, for the queen: as one bill of £4000 for necessaries of the queen; a second was the apothecary's bill of £800, for drugs; and the third of the bishop's . . . of £1500, for his unholy water. Yet, on Tuesday, after dinner, most of them went away. It is said, some few stay with the queen. But the bishop, standing upon his commission still of ambassador, it is said, will not depart till the French king hath recalled him. It is certain, as they most shamefully tyrannized over the young queen's body and mind, so they very grossly wronged his majesty. But the manner how of both, I would rather you should hear by others' report than by my relation. Yet thus much; at their departure, they dealt, it seems, no better; but, as is said, left not the queen any thing in apparel, jewels, &c., but what she had on her; for which some trunks are stayed. There are said to be four English papists to attend her; the Earl of Rutland, her lord chamberlain; Sir Thomas Savage, her chancellor; the old Countess of Buckingham¹, and the Lady Savage, of her bedchamber.

It is said most, if not all, of the parliament men, that were justices, and against the duke, are put out of commission.

On Monday, his majesty's letters to this city for their present furnishing of twenty warlike ships: whereupon a common council was called this afternoon, whose resolution was that, forasmuch as in '88, when they were better able, they set out but ten; and, for that the season is now unfitting to brew beer, and kill meat, and that most

¹ Mary Villiers, the mother of the Duke of Buckingham, who had been created Countess of Buckingham for her life only.

profit goes to the lord admiral; if they may join with other port towns, have a seasonable time to provide their victuals, and have toward their charges what they get (except to pay the king his customs) they would furnish twenty ships. Howbeit, afterwards, they yielded for ten ships and one pinnace, which, on Wednesday evening, they certified to the Lords. But that not being accepted of, they had yesterday a new message, and held a common council in the afternoon: but I, not having been since abroad, hear not what of new was demanded, or of what they resolved on.

Yesterday were the English French merchants sent for to the Lords, and inhibited to trade into France; especially, I suppose, lest our ships should be there stayed, as, it is said, this Antwerp post and other passengers are stayed at Calais, and not suffered to come over hither. And indeed I feared, when I heard the queen mother belaboured a treaty of peace between us and Spain, that France and Spain might both combine against us.

Mr. Pory to the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, Friday, August 11, 1626.

Although I be much disheartened to write even to you this week, not having had so much as an intimation from you of the letter I sent to you by Mr. Chancey, of Trinity College, Cambridge, on Saturday last; yet, since you are pleased to esteem of any trifle from me, neither will I be now wanting to your appetite.

On Monday last, was the peremptory day for the departure of the French; what time the king's officers attending them with coaches, carts, and barges, they contumaciously refused to go, saying they would not depart, until they had order from their king; and, above all, the bishop stood upon his punctilio. This news being sent in post to the king, on Tuesday morning, his majesty despatched away to London the captain of the guard, attended with a competent number of his yeomen, as likewise with heralds, trumpets, and messengers, first to proclaim his majesty's pleasure at Somerset Gate; which, if

it were not speedily obeyed, the yeomen of the guard were to put it in execution, by turning all the French out of Somerset House by head and shoulders, and shutting the gate after them. Which news, so soon as the French heard, their courage came down, and they yielded to be gone the next tide.

The time being come, my Lord Conway, Mr. Treasurer, and Mr. Comptroller, went to see them perform their promise, and brought the bishop out of the gate to the boot of his coach; where he, making a stand, told them he had one favour more to crave at their hands, namely, that they would permit him to stay till the midnight tide, to the end that he might go away private and cool; which was not denied him. So on Tuesday night they lay at Gravesend, on Wednesday night at Rochester, yesternight at Canterbury, and to-night they are to lodge at Dover, from whence God send them a fair wind.

My Lord Carleton, just a week before they were cast out of Whitehall, viz., on Monday was fortnight, was sent express to the French king to signify the full performance thereof, which was determined to be brought to pass before such time, as he could have audience with the French king; and when the thing was done, Mons. de Vic went to relate the certainty thereof.

For all the king's royal bounty amongst them, mentioned in my former, they patronized upon the queen debts to the amount of above £19,000, which the queen at first took upon her to owe; but after, being asked more earnestly by the king, she confessed freely those debts were but counterfeit.

Of the French, six persons only remain about her, viz., her nurse, Madame Vantelet, that dresses her, a cook, a baker, a pantler, and tailor. By the treaty, she was to have but three score servants, which were now augmented to 440. She hath also a French priest left her, but the silliest of them all; as also Philipi, a Scottish priest; with Potter and Godfrey, antagonists to the Pope's supremacy here, English priests.

To the four Protestant ladies of the bedchamber are added two or three Popish ones, namely—the Countesses

of Buckingham and Rutland, and (some say) my Lady Savage. The Duchess of Tremouille being defrayed hereby, the king was appointed to have lain at St. James's, had not the housekeeper sent the king word, the French had so defiled that house, as a week's work would not make it clean.

Every week, they say, our fleet is going out the next; but I think it will be mid-September ere it be gone, if then. My Lord Willoughby goes admiral, Denbigh vice-admiral, and Pennington rear-admiral. The plague is got into some two or three of their ships, as it was the former year at Plymouth. The Hollanders being twenty sail, lie ready about the Foreland; which, added to the English, do make fifty-one sail. The city hath yielded to set about sixteen ships, but are urged for twenty.

The king, and the King of Denmark, have contracted with the Hamburgers for all the naval and warlike provisions which they were sending for Spain, had they not been blocked up the King of Denmark, being the lading of thirty-one ships; wherein, among others, are about 130,000 barrels of powder, enough for the conquest of a kingdom.

Mr. Robert Gell¹ to the Rev. Joseph Mead.

Cambridge, August 13, 1626.

Bennet College² business shall be determined on Tuesday next. It is said if the election be found faulty and proved null, that there is a mandate for a third man. Dr. Welmes is named.

What you heard of £20,000 worth of jewels to be given to the French, I heard questioned by some who belong to the king's jeweller, and hear of no such matter.

¹ Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge.

² On the decease of Samuel Walsall, D.D., master of Bennet College, Cambridge, John Munday, B.D., was made choice of, for his successor, on the 4th of August, 1626; but the number of votes being equally divided between him and Dr. Henry Butts, D.D., and one of them being his own, and that the casting vote, his election, upon an appeal of five fellows to the chancellor, was adjudged not legal, and accordingly declared void; and the king, as in a case of devolution, put in Dr. Butts, who was admitted on the 2nd September following.—*History of the College of Corpus Christi and the B. Virgin Mary (commonly called Bennet)*. By Robert Masters, B.D.—P. 140.

Mr. Pory to the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, this Friday night, August 17, 1626.

The city have at last, in their common council, yielded to set out twenty ships. The day following they made four requests to the Lords:—1. That they might have the appointing of their own commanders; which was absolutely denied them. 2. That they might have powder at the king's price. To have at the first price they were refused, but admitted to the second price. 3. A commission to press mariners was granted them. 4. But not that all dwellers here at London, besides citizens, should contribute to this fleet.—Great show is made that the king's fleet will presently set sail; but wise men do yet doubt whether they go this year or no: and do wish rather they should not go at all, than make another winter voyage.

At Dunkirk, Spinola had built a large galley, that carried eight pieces in her prow; which, having stolen out one night, took a prize, and brought it into Newport, where the chief officers being gone ashore to refresh themselves, the slaves laid hold on the rest, and threw them overboard, and then betook them lustily to their oars. The fort in vain shot at them; but they, under the favour of the Hollanders, riding before Dunkirk, ere those two ships could fetch them up. So now they are at Flushing, and have the pillage and prize of the galley distributed amongst them.

One of our last India Company ships was lately burnt by the Portugals in the Gulf of Persia, who do now strictly besiege Ormus, and are said to be stronger at sea than ever they were since they began to trade there.

The queen's household is now settled, Queen Anne's¹ old servants, that had pensions, being all entertained. My Lord of Rutland refuseth to be her lord chamberlain; Sir George Goring is her vice-chamberlain; my Lord Percy,² master of her horse; my Lord Holland, her steward; the Earl of Totness, *alias* Lord Carew, her receiver; Sir Thomas

¹ Anne of Denmark, consort of James I.

² Algernon, afterwards lord high admiral.

Savage, her chancellor, &c. She hath some twenty French about her, whereof twelve are musicians. The Countess of Buckingham is also got into her bedchamber.

I have spoken with the man (one of my Lord Conway's secretaries) who, on Saturday last, saw all the French embarked at Dover; and the same evening saw the ships that transported them, all come to an anchor upon the English shore. They were very sullen and dogged at their first setting out from hence; but their kind entertainment by the way made them more tame by that time they came to Dover. A fellow there threw a stone at Madame St. George, as she was newly entered the boat; whereupon an English knight that sat next her stepped on shore and gave the fellow a wound, which cost him his life. The bishop being come to Rochester, met there his commission from the French king to ordain him ambassador, notice whereof he presently sent his majesty; but the king utterly rejected him, saying he had done so many wrongs, as he should never see his face more.

What success my Lord Carleton, that carried the message of this proceeding to the French king, hath had, is not yet known, Mons. de Tilliers, the queen's late chamberlain, having got the start of him; and a courier also, that expressly carried the news.

There is a muttering that the Earl of Bristol's son should marry into the kindred of the duke.

The great assembly in Scotland, lately gathered together at Edinburgh, were dissolved by commission from his majesty, carried thither by the Earl of Arundel; and the same assembly adjourned till the month of November.

There is much talk of both raising silver and gold coin two shillings in the pound, that the king may make gain thereof.

There are now some 200 mariners and sailors come up from Portsmouth for their wages, some twenty whereof I saw this day take the duke's coach-horses by the head, and stay his coach; who thereupon gave them fair words, and promised at two o'clock he would give them an answer that should content them; but when two of the

clock came, he beguiled them in coming by water, and made them more eager to speak with him than before.

On Wednesday last, there was a certain knight that asked the duke when the fleet should set sail. The duke answered, "Within ten days."—*Kn.* "So it hath been said these six months, that the fleet should set sail within fourteen days, and therefore I cannot believe it will be gone within ten days."—*Du.* "If it be not gone within ten days, I will give ten of my teeth."—*Kn.* "One of your horses, my lord, would do me more good than ten of your teeth. I will lay money against one of your horses, that the fleet will not be gone by then."—*Du.* "I will lay no wagers."—*Kn.* "I will tell your lordship a reason why the fleet cannot be gone so soon: your victuals are naught, your beer stinks, and those that should go take exceptions at both."—*Du.* "It is true there are bad victuals and bad beer, but better is provided to put in the place." In fine, this knight told somebody in my hearing he did not believe the fleet would go from the coast of England this year. *O tempora! O mores!*

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, August 25, 1626.

Here hath been much ado about our new coinage of silver and gold, for which the king is to have in a pound weight of gold 52*s.*, whereas it was before but 15*s.*; and 3*s.* 6*d.* for a pound weight of silver, which was before but 2*s.* 6*d.* The Lords have sitten many times about it, and sent for some merchants for their opinions of it; who, I know, are of opinion it is a most dangerous project for the king and kingdom; for that although at first the king may, perhaps, get much by the coinage, yet it will overthrow trade by the altering of the exchange, much impoverish king and all men in their revenues, improve Spain's bullion, enhance the prices of all things, and for the profit occasion foreign countries to counterfeit truly our coin, and thereby deprive the king of his hope by coinage, and therefore is thought will not hold. It is said

to be the Earl of Middlesex's project, who now hath his pardon under the great seal at last, but with more restrictions than the former draught and caution given also for some things.

The Lord Viscount Wallingford was last week created Earl of Banbury.¹

I hear not that our fleet is yet gone from Portsmouth. The London fleet is making ready with all possible speed.

Here is news that Sir Thomas Saville hath in duel slain Sir Francis Wortley; his second slain Sir Thomas Saville, and his second and himself by flight escaped.

On Wednesday, at Somerset House, the queen feasted the Duchess Dowager of Tremouille, of France, and her daughter, the Lady Strange; as it is said, ere long, the king intends to do at Whitehall.

It is said that two extraordinary French ambassadors landed at Dover, whereof one is Count Tilliers, the queen's late lord chamberlain. But whether they come to expostulate about the dismissal of the French, as is conceived, or for some other cause, time ere long will manifest.

Now the Earl of Rutland accepts the office of lord chamberlain to the queen.

Mr. Pory to the Rev. Joseph Mead, at Sir Martin Stuteville's, at Dalham.

London, this morning, Saturday, September 2, 1626.

Since writing of my last it hath been reported here, that Sir Thomas Saville and Sir Francis Wortley, knights, of Yorkshire, have slain one another in mortal combat.

It hath been reported here, that my Lord of Willoughby, general of the fleet, now bound to sea, hath news, by a letter, that the Spanish fleet doth attend ours at the mouth of the channel; which, if a man dare be so bold as to tell upon the Exchange, they will laugh him to scorn, and say, it is a report coined to draw money from the people.

The Londoners do actually set forth the twenty sail

¹ William Knollys, treasurer of the household to Queen Elizabeth, who had been created Viscount Wallingford in 1616.

formerly mentioned, who heretofore pretending they could not find ships enough in the river to serve for men of war, some of the Lords answered, you shall seven or eight of the king's ships, into which you may victual and munition. "No," said they, "the king's ships are sacred: we dare not meddle with them;" considering with themselves, if they once should have victualled the king's ships, it would have been drawn into a precedent. Then they were sent to set out so many ships to defend the coast. "By no means," said they; "dare we be so presumptuous as to take the king's office out of his hands; but we will prepare so many ships, let his majesty do with them what he will."

On Monday last, the matter of coinage of the new light pieces being argued *pro* and *con* at the council-table, and the inconveniences palpably demonstrated, the Lords checked Palmer, the chief officer of the Mint, for giving out such coin without authority, and did, as it were, publicly condemn it; saying, when some complained against it, because it would not pass in payments, that they knew not of the divulging thereof, notwithstanding, as it is said, there have been three score thousand pounds thereof coined. And as yet there is no order taken about it, although men have been borne in hand; it should either have been called in, or set at the just value. Now there is a project on foot to proportion our silver coin to the gold, because all King James's time, and hitherto, it hath been too rich; and that is the reason why gold hath been more frequent in payments than silver, because strangers have gained by exporting the silver; and, therefore, whereas all the said time there have out of a pound of silver coined by 63s.: now there shall be coined 65s.

In France, there is lately discovered against that king one of the greatest conspiracies that ever was heard of, consisting of all the princes of the blood, monsieur being the head, and most of the greatest persons in France, the Duke of Guise only excepted, aiming at no less than taking the crown off the king's head, and so put it on monsieur's: pasquils being thrown about Paris, that they will allow of no kings that cannot beget children; and

by some it hath been reported, that the French king's person hath been surprised.

My Lord Carleton, they say, hath been roughly handled by that council, but afterwards hath been smothered by the king and queen mother, and so hath been disgraced in public, though countenanced in private. So, they say, the residue of the queen's portion is denied there, and her jointure not proceeded in here. And whereas there are two extraordinary ambassadors coming out of France, viz., Mons. de Bassompierre and the Count de Tillieres, late lord chamberlain to the queen. His majesty hath, by Mr. Walter Montagu, sent an express prohibition to Tillieres, that he shall not presume to set foot on English shore in that quality, because he will not admit of his late sworn servant to be checkmate with him. But the truth is, Tillieres is too much Jesuited for our state to endure, and hath lately done ill offices there against us.

It is said that the Earl of Middlesex, now he hath got his pardon, tells the duke plainly, that all these projects will vanish into smoke, and will be disgrace both to the inventors and countenancers; that the state is such indeed, but will admit none other remedy but a parliament; and it is thought we shall have one before Allhallow-tide, for the best of the grievances hath lately been perused, and fair answers framed thereunto.

All Low Country letters are full of the King of Denmark's defeat of Tilly, and how Count Mansfield being approached within twenty-five miles of Vienna, the emperor is fled from thence to Gratz, situate on the Alps.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, Friday, September 8, 1626.

The proclamation against the new coin having been printed now the fourth day, through the iniquity of the time or of the man, is not yet proclaimed. Howbeit, having passed through the great seal, it stands in force; and the truth is, he is ashamed of the great repulse he had on Sunday by a man of no greater outside than Sir Robert Cotton, and on Monday by his majesty and the

whole council-table. For on Sunday, in the afternoon, all the disputants on both sides being warned to come before the Lords, his majesty being then present and president, Sir Robert Cotton then drew out a paper,¹ and, by his majesty's command, began to read it unto him. But, being come to the third article, the duke began to startle, and looking with a stern countenance over his shoulder, said, "Sir Robert Cotton, are you come hither to instruct the king and the council?" and so stopped his mouth from proceeding any further. Sir Robert, notwithstanding maugre his threats, kneeled down presently to his majesty, and (the duke being next to him) delivered the same unto his majesty's hand, and besought his majesty that he would by no means omit the reading of it over advisedly. Moreover, the same afternoon, the duke, seeing his party very strong, and few of the contrary side present, with all his might and main, urged that the Lords might presently sit down to consultation. Whereupon, Sir Robert Cotton, kneeling once again before his majesty, signified unto him, that the better half of their number was absent; and therefore, that so great a business might not be treated in by halves, he humbly besought his majesty the council might be adjourned till the next day, which was on Monday last; and so the king granted his request against the duke's motion.

On Monday, the king carried himself before the Lords so considerately, as, till the upshot, no man could discern by his countenance to which side he inclined. In fine, he declared himself in such a manner, as it appeared to their lordships, he thoroughly understood the business, and so his majesty went against the duke and my lord president, taking part withal, as I have heard, of the council-table besides.

On Wednesday, the Lord Houghton, son and heir to the Earl of Clare,² married the daughter and heir of my Lord Horace Vere.

¹ This paper, of which a copy is extant among Mr. Mead's letters, is printed among the posthumous pieces of Sir Robert Cotton, and therefore could not possibly be Sir Thomas Roe's speech, made at the council-table in July, 1640, though published as such by Rushworth in his collections.

² John Holles, of Houghton, in Nottinghamshire, who had been raised first to the baronage of Houghton, and secondly to the Earldom of Clare, by the influence

Yesterday, the question at the council-table, what punishment should be inflicted on them that do refuse to pay privy seals.

Now, it is said, the city's fleet of twenty sail, seeing no composition money will come from them, is to be set forth; for which purpose every householder is to be taxed, so much as he payeth in four years to the poor. Two of the king's ships and three other tall ships of the merchants are, with all expedition, to go lie before the mouth of the river of Hamburgh.

Enclosed in the preceding letter.

By the king.—The king's most excellent majesty, by the advice of his privy council, for divers important considerations, doth publish and declare to all his loving subjects that all coins of gold and silver within this his realm of England shall be taken and received to be current in all receipts and payments in such species and at such weight, fineness, and value as the same were current the first day of August last past, and not otherwise. And that all moneys of gold and silver coined since the said first day of August shall be esteemed but as bullion, and not be current. Given at our Palace of Westminster, the fourth day of September, in the second year of our reign of England, &c.

Extract from another letter from London.

September 8, 1626.

Upon Tuesday last, the Lord Willoughby went from hence towards Portsmouth, with a commission very large to bestow knighthood where he shall find desert, to place or to displace any officer. But what his instructions are is unknown. When they come home again, about Christmas, we shall know; for they have some four months' victuals. But Marquis Hamilton, out of the abundance of his uncle, the Duke of Buckingham, must not adventure upon a winter voyage.

of the Duke of Buckingham, as a consideration for which, on the two occasions, he paid to the duke the sum of £15,000 sterling. His son John married Elizabeth, eldest daughter and one of the co-heirs of Horatio Lord Vere, of Tilbury.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, September 15, 1626.

I must now write lamentable news of a main defeat, if not an utter overthrow of the King of Denmark given by Tilly, upon the 18th of August.

His majesty doth much compassionate his uncle's disasters, and will strengthen him with 10,000 men, if he can find any means to raise money for their pay, which is now scant with him, as on Monday morning he set his hand to a warrant for the selling of 40,000 ounces of plate at five shillings the ounce, which cost his progenitors, with the gilding and fashion, a mark and twenty shillings an ounce.

Privy seals do fail, and contributions are but mockeries; so that there is no way left but parliament, although his majesty hath willed the Lords to think of all other ways saving that one, and the duke will keep off that as long as he can.

The citizens should in all haste set out their fleet of twenty sail, but doubt they never shall, because they shall never [succeed] to levy the money of the people. Some masters of the Portsmouth fleet are here making merry in town; and being asked when their fleet will be ready to go forth, they answer, by way of jeer, "about Michaelmas come twelvemonth."

Extract from another letter from London, of the same date.

Here is much lamentation for the King of Denmark, whose disaster is voiced by all to be exceeding great; which caused our king, on Wednesday morning, to come in haste to Whitehall from Theobalds, to advise with his council about some present succours, which were then concluded to be 9000 men, who shall be sent from us immediately, beside those 3000 Redshanks, which were lately out of Scotland, but are come too late.

At Hicks's Hall to-morrow, the names of all the recusants in the county of Middlesex are to be given up; and there are juries already empannelled here for the conviction; after which the statute shall be executed, which makes two-thirds forfeit to the king.

The second son of O'Rourke and another Irish gentleman, whose lands are confiscated, and themselves allowed £100 per annum, but confined to the city of London, are fled into Spain, for the want of their pay.

The Lord Willoughby is very much discontented at Portsmouth, finding the fleet weakly provided; and the Earl of Denbigh gone to sea with ten sail, having taken with him all the best men and the choicest victuals.

Extract from another letter of the same date.

The Lord Digby¹ is gone from the Tower to his house at Sherburne, at least for some weeks. The Lord Steward and Keeper procured that grace for him from the king, which, when they made the duke to understand (who met them as they came away), he told them he was sorry he was not the first mover of it.

The king pressed the Lords much to devise how more money may come in by privy seals, bidding them send those to Denmark who denied to pay. When the Lord Mandeville moved, that by way of motive, he would insert into the letters, that they should be paid the next parliament; the king disliked it utterly.

The city murmureth much at the tax lately imposed upon them, to raise £18,000 by the payment of a fourfold proportion to that which is paid in the poor-book. Many deny to pay it.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, September 16, 1626.

A friend passing lately this way showed me a printed copy of Dr. Eggesheim's, which, cutting in pieces, I distributed to three of my pupils to transcribe, and here I send it you to read and return me again sooner or later, as you please.

The Earl of Warwick is put out of his lieutenantship, and, which is more, out of the commission for the peace, as I was yesterday told for certain by some who had related

¹ The Earl of Bristol.

to him. It may be the duke would not have him joy and glory too much in his service of overseeing the work at Harwich.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, September 22, 1626.

My Lord of Denbigh is returned to Portsmouth, some say by reason of the meeting of the mariners; others, that he may go out in one body with my Lord of Willoughby.

The city go on with their fleet, notwithstanding they can levy little or no money by the way they have projected, because the constables will not strain men's goods, according to the warrant, though against their wills. Some of the fleet shall go northward, as is thought to guard the sea against the Dunkirkers, who begin to play their old tricks, having lately taken five colliers out of the whole fleet; had they not been terrified with the countenance of a good ship bound homeward from Greenland, it is thought they would have done what they listed with the whole fleet.

There is a hammering by noblemen, gentlemen, and merchants, a brave design to set forth the next spring for the West Indies a fleet of sixty sail of ships, with 6000 landmen and 4000 seamen.

The regiments lately dissolved in the west country are to be lodged in divers other shires, as some think (and I pray God they may be deceived), to force the inhabitants to pay subsidies.

Extract from another letter of the same date.

All the council-table should have been bound to Burlemachi¹ for the disbursing of £8000 to the King of Denmark, but Burlemachi refuseth their bonds.

I hear now that the demand of four subsidies and three fifteenths will be harder preferred in every shire than before.

¹ A foreign merchant and capitalist—the Rothschild of his day.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, September 29, 1626.

On Wednesday afternoon, arrived, at Tower Wharf, Mons. Bassompierre, the French extraordinary ambassador, and was brought thence to his lodging, in Leadenhall Street (hired by his harbinger), with twenty-five coaches. The duke came that evening to visit him, but was not admitted; yet returned at nine at night, and had together an hour's conference. That night, his cook made a fire against a loam wall, which being pierced, the fire smothered backward all that night, and yesterday, with a great smell, till near six in the evening; and then the flame burst out, but was soon quenched; yet did about £200 of hurt, and in the neighbour's house, being a widow's, whose husband, a surgeon, died in the late Cadiz voyage.

There is a proclamation for the recalling and inhibiting the payment of privy seals and benevolences, with order taken for the repayment of what is paid. But in place thereof is a royal subsidy required of a mark in the pound, according as they are in the king's books; and they have begun with Westminster, where, though at first perhaps it was opposed, yet at length they have, under their hands, consented thereto.

Extract from another letter of the same date.

After the proclamation for cancelling the privy seals and benevolences, that before reported concerning the pressing of subsidies home and in a manner is now come to pass in effect, though not in name. For the lords of the council have called the subsidy men of Westminster, man by man, and demand of them the value of five subsidies, but under the name of loan. They who are £5 in the subsidy book, must lend the king 5 marks; for £3, 3 marks, &c. And their rate holdeth in all. The inhabitants of Westminster do all yield, not daring to deny the council-table.

Here is great suit for the presidency of Munster. Sir George Goring stands hard for it, and divers others; but it

is believed that Sir William St. Leger will carry it, who must allow £500 per annum to the widow lady of Sir Edward Villiers, the late president, deceased, and resign up the place to her son, when the young gentleman shall come to be of age.

The French ambassador, Bassompierre, came to London upon Wednesday, and lyeth at his own charge, his house costing him £50 a week. He hath gotten no audience as yet, nor shall have very suddenly. He calls for a parliament to settle the queen's jointure, and requires the restoring of the French, the priests especially: else biddeth defiance and open war.

The king's fleet is not yet gone out of the channel.

*John Selden*¹ to *Sir Robert Cotton, Bart.*

Wrest, in Bedfordshire, September 25, 1626.

Noble Sir,—Had I not thought with assurance to have seen you again long ere this, you had long since heard from me, that so my service might have been presented to you, and I might also have received the comfort of your being well.

Till Saturday, we despatched not my Lord of Kent's office.² Now that is done, I shall soon come up again.

My Lord of Lincoln remembered you, especially when I was with him the last week at Bugden. There he lives finely within doors and without, and deserves the love and honour of good men.

My Lady Kent presents you with a red deer pie, by the bearer; for she gave it me to send you: and with it you have the entire affection of your most acknowledged servant,

J. SELDEN.

Since I wrote this, I hear of the loss of my Lord of Winchester. His lingering sickness hath, together with his age, made his best friends the easier take it. I doubt not it was rather nature than death that took him away,

¹ It is almost superfluous to state that this is the learned Selden, with whose name the historical scholar must be sufficiently familiar.

² Henry Grey, Baron Grey de Ruthyn, and eighth earl of Kent.

if they might be divided in him. I heartily wish his library may be kept together, at least till we may see it. Something I have in it, that I value much, and something else of slight moment. That, which I would take care of for myself, is an Armenian dictionary. I never saw another copy, and my lord borrowed it of me two years since. A . . . he hath also of mine, which I must render to Mr. Boswell. These two I would not willingly lose. What else his library hath of mine, is of no great moment; but I shall know it when I come to mine own, where I have something also that was his.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, September 30, 1626.

At London, they say, when the officers came to strain for the tax lately imposed, the people rescue one another. Whereupon the lords of the council sat; but more I know not, save a proclamation being mentioned in their consultation; the king, who was present, said he did abominate that name.

The Bishop of Winchester,¹ Andrews, died on Monday, in the afternoon. A great prelate is gone.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, October 3, 1626.

My Lord of Winchester, they say, died not worth £12,000, which makes many change their uncharitable conceit they had formerly of him, finding that he gave much to the poor and prisons in London, and other good uses, the author not being known till now he is dead. And no doubt but he hath received a reward openly of God of what he did in secret. He gave, by his last will, to Pembroke Hall, £1000; to the poor in London, £2000; to a kinsman, £1000; the rest among his kindred, chaplains, and servants.

¹ September 26, 1626, at Winchester House, in Southwark.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, October 6, 1626.

Though the parishes of St. Margaret's and St. Martin's in Westminster have yielded to lend the king, according to the rate demanded of five subsidies; yet St. Clement's parish, the Strand, the Duchy, with the Savoy, have caused a riot, the most of them denying to lend, and stand ready for a press groat rather than yield a jot. Amongst them, the Prophet Ball, the tailor, is the chief man, who, for his boldness in advising the Lords to more lawful councils, is fast in the messenger's hands. He quoted scripture to them mightily. Of these aforementioned were those, who at the first, when the subsidies were demanded, cried out *for a parliament*.

The citizen's fleet is almost ready; but the chamber of London must bear the charge; for the people will not pay. And the constables, though commanded to distrain, refuse to take an alderman's warrant, saying, they are the king's officers as well as the aldermen's; and if they talk of imprisonment, the constables reply, they will begin with the aldermen. Yet one constable hath distrained, and the party will sue him this next term for his pains. Howsoever, the masters and officers of this fleet have gotten a month's victuals beforehand.

The king's fleet is gone; God be their speed. They are thirty sail. Before they could get out of the channel, they were beaten by a Michaelmas flaw. The Royal Defence sprung a leak. Another ship sprung her mainmast; and these two put into Torbay, three leagues on this side of Dartmouth. Some of the others put into Falmouth, and some into ***. But, as I am now informed, they all met together at Falmouth; and, about some four or five days since, they went away to the southward. We shall know the meaning before Christmas; for they have but three months' victual, or but four at the most. It must be the island voyage for the Plate fleet.

Bassompierre, the French ambassador, had audience at Hampton Court the last Sunday, when he is said to have been very bold and peremptory. Howsoever, his business

was chiefly contained in letters, and we know no more than formerly. But it seems, in France, we are toward a falling in again; for my Lord Carleton is suddenly made much of, and had a cupboard of plate, of the value of £1200, sent him for a present.

There is an ambassador come from the King of Denmark, whom his majesty regally entertaineth: and the French ambassador entertaineth himself as bravely.

This morning, his majesty came to Whitehall, and went presently, as I hear, to the council-table. The queen is also expected here to-day.

The late designed Bishop of Bath and Wells, Laud, (and now said fair for Winchester) was, in the mean time, on Tuesday, the 3rd of this month, sworn dean of the chapel. Whereupon the Dean of Winchester, Young, is retired from court, much disconcerted, as having expected this place with sixteen years' service.

A bishop of this land, and a Cambridge man, offered to persuade the duke, that it was the best for him to take the bishopric of Winchester himself, whereat the duke startling, and asking how he could be a bishop? "If your grace," quoth he, "will procure me the bishopric, and take the revenues yourself." Fie on such traitors!

The Bishop of Ely¹ died on Thursday, between four and five o'clock in the morning.

Alderman Cockaigne is also dead; and Alderman Johnson died suddenly, on Monday, having eaten grapes at Bow, as he was stepping into his coach.

Burials, 217. Of the plague, in six parishes, 7; christenings, 177.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, October 7, 1626.

I have nothing to add to the last, but that the Bishop of Ely died on Wednesday, and that it is said the Archbishop of Canterbury is dangerously ill. What a company of bishops have died in a small time! 1. Senhouse,

¹ Nicholas Felton, who had been translated to the see of Ely, from that of Bristol, in March, 1610.

Carlisle; 2. Lake, Bath and Wells; 3. Exeter; 4. Andrews, Winchester; 5. Felton, Ely. If Canterbury follow, York will not be long behind. Of all these, there is none yet disposed, except Carlisle, to White. To have power of disposing so many chief bishoprics together, is a matter of moment, either to build or pull down that faction in the church, which the present state or chief statesmen like not.

The Bishop of Ely, overcome with kindness to Dr. Meddus for his intelligence, and surprised at London at the instant, bestowed, within this twelvemonth, a living in his¹ gift in Essex, of £160 or better per annum, upon the doctor's son, a young master of arts, and an Oxford man, to the no small offence of his chaplains, and especially Mr. Tilman, who was unprovided, and had disfurnished himself to depend on him. The doctor complained last week his son was dangerously sick, and I am now told he is dead; and that the bishop, not two days before he left his life, gave Mr. Tilman a presentation to the benefice, as though he had stayed to die till he had corrected his error. By this means we are like to want the doctor's intelligence a week or two, till his mourning be over; for I think he was his only son, and seemed a pregnant young man. He had married the former incumbent's widow, which some thought did facilitate his getting of the parsonage. But I rather think the air than the marriage killed him; for the town is in the Hundreds, though but bordering. Yet his parsonage stood remote from the channel, upon a high ground, and most pleasant woodland country to the eye; but the air, as the wind stand, brackish. I knew the place well before I knew Dalham.

When I was in Essex, they told me new letters were come down to those in commission, requiring them (after some insinuation of the ill managing of the former demand of supply,) to set down themselves under their hands, according to the proportion of four subsidies, and then to

¹ The Rectory of Rottendan, in the Deanery and Hundred of Chelmsford, to which Robert Wright, M.A., was instituted 16th November, 1619. But Mr. Meddus's name does not appear in *Newcourt's Repertorium*, vol. ii. p. 491, nor the time of Mr. Edward Tilman's admission into this rectory.

move the people by their example, to give accordingly. If this be so, it will not be long before you hear of the like.

I hear say, Sir Robert Cotton (the last called in Westminster) should say, he was glad to see, yet the awe the people had of the lords of his majesty's council; and wished the council-table could be carried into the country also; for then perhaps some good would be done. Which words, being spoken before the Lords, were ill taken by the duke, as intimating the business would not be so easily effected in the country, as it was in Westminster.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, October 13, 1626.

Concerning the success of the imposition laid upon the city, though it was imposed by an act of common council, it hath been denied by the generality, so none have paid except some two or three in a parish: and this denial they still persist in, notwithstanding they have been threatened by the mayor and aldermen with imprisonment and distraining their goods. Some constables, for refusing to distrain, have kissed the counter; and some have taken up their lodgings in Newgate, but have been since released. Others have made distress in divers places, but for the most part they took nothing but old ends, such as nobody much cared for: and where they took better commodities, yet they could get no customers to give money for them, though they might have had Robin Hood's pennyworths. So the business now stands, and for aught I can hear, unless some other project come to help, the fleet will not get out of the Thames.

In the mean time, our enemies, the Dunkirkers, play *rex* in our seas, and have this week taken three Amsterdammers and a Holland man-of-war, which came for their convoy hitherward.

The great French ambassador is here still. Of his errand divers men report diversely, some say to complain of the duke, because he denied audience in private, and was with the king an hour alone. Others say the duke and he understand one another. This I am sure, the duke

is almost every day with him, and they ride often abroad together with themselves alone in the coach. Yesterday, at the exchange, they said he demands the restoring of thirty French priests.

You cannot but hear of the two proclamations. One is for the restraint of soldiers and mariners disorderly resorting to the city of London in companies, and was occasioned by an affront, some of them offered to the duke in a tumultuous demanding of their pay. Two days since, myself saw some of them walking in the street, *non sine strepitu*, and said, they had been with the duke, for money, and they should have it, they said, when the devil was blind on both eyes. I know not their meaning, but they are a terror to all costardmongers as they pass, who are afraid of them more than the duke.

The Bishop of Winchester's funeral is on Thursday come sennight.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, October 14, 1626.

I have lighted upon a span new proclamation, which I send you in time, because you say you hear not of the aid by a new loan of subsidies. One of the books I send contains instructions to the clergy to persuade you to come off. So I trow you will hear of it at length.

It is affirmed from London, that the duke was so hotly encountered by the sailors about this day sennight, that he was since fain to get a guard about his house. They demanded their pay with very high words; and that, if they were not satisfied, they threatened they would, &c.

I know not what you take the cause to be of the king's not coming to Newmarket, as was expected, and he purposed; but I hear some of opinion, that the duke likes not so unguarded a place.

I will not tell you how our bishoprics will be bestowed, till next week. Only it is worth telling, that there is a talk, that Sir John Ogle shall be Bishop of St. David's.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, October 20, 1626.

On Monday last were the lords at Hicks's Hall, near Smithfield, whither that side of Middlesex were summoned, and where, it is said, all by one means or another yielded under the hands to pay the new loan of five subsidies. Afterwards, the duke and some seven more rode and dined with the French ambassador, who, it is said, stays not now much longer.

On Wednesday came ill news from France to our merchants, which trade thither, viz., that all our goods and shipping everywhere are now arrested.

Extract from another letter from London, of the same date.

We know not yet what will become of the royal subsidy. It still goes forward, and some pay, and some stand out, as yet do many of St. Clement's in Westminster. On Monday the duke, with the rest of the lords commissioners, sat at Hicks's Hall for the parts of Middlesex adjoining to London; and, as is said, the most agreed to pay, though there were not many which appeared; but the justices all subscribed. Yesterday they dined with my Lord of Canterbury, and sat at Lambeth in the afternoon for those parts of Surrey; but I hear not what was done. They sit to-day at Greenwich for the county of Kent; next at Romford in Essex, then at Waltham for Hertfordshire, and thus for all the shires that border upon the city of London.

Our commissioners for the city fleet certified the lords the last week, that ten of their ships were ready to fall down to Gravesend, and the rest not long after to follow them. The lords replied there was no haste; and bade them stay a while, for the service was not yet ready for them: about some twenty hence they would inform them further. Their whole victualling is for three months, of which these twenty days must be abated.

Yesterday, Marquis of Hamilton went towards Scotland;

and, as I understand, hath wholly left the court of England; yet his lady is left behind him.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, October 21, 1626.

Of the staying of the commission for the royal subsidy loan, we have yet heard nothing here; but that it hath been somewhat urged and absolutely denied, as in Kent. That they would have laid the burden also upon the city of London, who are already troubled enough to get up their navy tax; but upon some intimation by the recorder to the Lords it was not then pressed.

Dr. Hanmer, the Bishop of St. Asaph, is dead;¹ Dr. Gostlin,² some think, will hardly escape.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, October 27, 1626.

My Lord Willoughby on Wednesday last is come to court, where my lord admiral frowned upon him for his so sudden return. But his lordship, under the hands of the masters of England with whom he surveyed the ships at their return into Portsmouth, pleaded the insufficiency of all the king's set forth this voyage; two whereof my lord hath been constrained to leave behind him in harbour, and the residue proved so leaky and withal so weak under the weight of their ordnance, as all agree, had they been but a hundred leagues further at sea, they could never have returned. The *Triumph*, admiral of the fleet, a new ship that never was at sea before, in this her first voyage, was found to be the weakest of all the rest, which spent both her boltsprit, her foremast, and main-yard, and likewise sprung a principal knee forward on; whereby had they disputed with the winds but an half an hour longer, and not suddenly borne up, they had never escaped the fury of sea. The merchants' ships and colliers were far more

¹ Dr. John Hanmer. He did not die till July 3, 1629.

² John Gostlin, M.D., Master of Caius College, in Cambridge, King's Professor of Physic in that University.

able to endure those surges, save only the Bonadventure, which is thought to be perished. Eleven ships came in with my Lord Willoughby, and fifteen were wanting, which ere this time by God's blessing be harboured. They were no further than sixty or seventy leagues at sea, when they were taken with those hideous storms and contrary winds, which dispersed them. Their victuals were good generally, saving their beer, which the brewer told them would stink before they went out, because he could not brew better at thirty shillings the ton. They met with twenty-seven Hamburgers bound for Spain, which having examined, they found to have authentical papers under the hand of the captain of one of the king's ships riding before the mouth of the river of Hamburg; and so let them go.

The London fleet of twenty sail (whose admiral shall be Captain Philpot, a Kentish man, who heretofore fought a duel between the two armies in the Low Countries) being all ready, have this fortnight been suing for their despatch. So now they are appointed to sail to the Downs, whither they shall have their commission sent, which it is thought will be all one with my Lord Willoughby's, viz., to try if they can perchance meet with the West India fleet about the islands of the Azores.

Over and besides two former East Indian ships, there are now two more come in from the East Indies, which four are valued to be worth £400,000.

The Lord of Denbigh, the next day after his coming hither with my Lord Willoughby, took post and rode towards Scotland after the Marquis of Hamilton, his son-in-law, who departed hence yesterday sennight, some say discontented and with a purpose to return no more, because his pension is taken from him, for that he would never condescend to lie with his wife. Others affirm, notwithstanding, that he went away highly favoured of his majesty and the duke; that he is to return again at Christmas; and he will lie with his wife when once she is capable.

The Lords on Tuesday last sat at Romford, for Essex, about the commission of loan, where all subscribed, saving Sir Francis Barrington and Sir William Masham, his son-

in-law, who on Wednesday, for refusing an oath ministered unto them by the Lords, were committed, Sir William to the Fleet, and Sir Francis to the Marshalsea.

Yesterday, the Lords sat upon the same business at Barnet, where all subscribed, yet but a small appearance.

On Saturday last, their lordships sitting at Greenwich, the Kentish people of that district subscribed all, save only the mariners, masters, and owners of ships of Woolwich and Deptford, who refused not only to subscribe, but also to take the oath.

The French ambassador is to depart on Monday, but unsatisfied, having stood upon two principal articles: 1, confirmation of the queen's jointure by act of parliament; 2, a restitution of some priests and others to their places about the queen.

Sir George Goring is the man now spoken of to go leiger ambassador into France, and the Lord Carleton again for the Hague.

Sir Edward Sandys is said to be dying.¹

Extract from another letter from London, of the same date.

Upon the news of the return of our weather-beaten fleet, (which hath done nothing, that we hear of, but only taken some French ships, and so caused our merchants' goods to be arrested in France) the Lords sent a precept to the lord mayor to have our city fleet (which before was stayed) to fall down to Gravesend, whither the most of them are gone already, for what service I cannot learn. Some say they are ready provided of other things, but cannot get seamen, who will not go, and the despair of that hath made some hundreds to fly over sea to serve the Dunkirkers.

The lords commissioners for the royal subsidy are the Duke of Buckingham, Lord Steward, Lord Chamberlain, Lord President, Earl of Holland, Earl of Carlisle, Earl of Salisbury, Bridgewater, Lord Imbercourt, (Carleton) Lord Colerain, (Hare) Lord Conway, &c.

This day I was told that there are commissioners sent

¹ He did not die till the beginning of October, 1629.

into Ireland to assemble the Lords there upon the 15th of November for the maintenance of the garrisons there at their own charge for a while, till his majesty hath despatched the businesses now on foot, which require all the money he can make: and they say, upon condition, they will undertake this charge, the popish lords shall not be troubled with the oath of supremacy. *Vix credo.*

The Earl of Holland and the Duke of Buckingham fell out in the king's presence, about some promises which Holland, warranted, as he said, by the duke, as from the king, and made in France. Now the ambassador came to claim them, the duke denied that he gave any such warrant. Holland stood to it. The duke, they say, gave him the lie. Hereupon Holland was confined; but they are made friends again by the king, and go about the subsidy together.

It is too true that the magnanimous Lady Elizabeth¹ begins now to be dejected. The reason is said to be, because her pension which she should receive from hence is not paid, and because she sees her uncle, the King of Denmark, left to too much hazard, and neglected by those she most relied upon. The truth she has had long enough, and now perhaps she begins to apprehend it.

Extract from another letter, of the same date.

It was the sore travail she had of this her last child which hath abated her wonted courage, and disposes to more apprehensions than formerly. And this is true.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, October 28, 1626.

Whether the commission of the subsidy be like to come amongst you, you shall conjecture by that I send. I heard that, as the Lords managed the business near London, so one of the council should be sent into every shire to further it. But, unless the success of their first proof give hope of universal yielding, perhaps some other way will

¹ The Queen of Bohemia.

be taken; and it may be as much beyond this as this is beyond the former.

Shall I tell you what they talk at London? That the duke should say, he would have money, if it were in the kingdom. That the French ambassador having gotten an inclination from the king to a parliament to settle the queen's jointure, the duke should say to his majesty, "By God, sir, there shall be no parliament!"

Some Londoners, which told me this, told me also, that at Hicks's Hall, when some denied to subscribe the loan, the duke should say, "Sirrah, take heed what you do. Did you not speak treason at such a time?" The Earl of Dorset, asking a fellow who pleaded he was unable, what a trade he was of, and being answered a tailor, "Come, come," saith he, "one snip will make amends for all," and other such like, which, they say, was not wont to be in days of yore. God dispose of all to the best.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, November 4, 1626.

Upon the commitment of Sir Francis Barrington and his son-in-law, the judges and sergeant at law (notwithstanding they had before paid their moneys and struck tallies in the exchequer) were required to subscribe. So on Saturday last they had a general meeting at Sergeants' Inn, and there resolved the contrary, and sent their answer to the king by Justice Whitelock and Sergeant Touse. Whereat his majesty seeming to be displeased, the lord keeper and lord treasurer besought him to have patience, and not to urge them to that which they held contrary to law and against their oath, nor yet to enforce them to deliver their reason of their refusal. Yet it is said the commission for loans goes on, under my Lord of Sussex, in Essex, and nowhere else, as far as I can learn.

All my Lord Willoughby's fleet are certainly come home, save two ships; and those that came home last have brought home a rich prize of Jews' goods, valued at £100,000. The London fleet are fallen to Gravesend, and yesterday here was drum beaten up with proclamation, that all

mariners, upon pain of death, should be found aboard this night. What their commission is we cannot yet penetrate. But on Monday last, when my lord treasurer gave my new lord mayor his oath, he highly commended the city for being so expeditious in setting out this fleet, and all besprinkled them with his majesty's thanks, not only therefore, but also for so freely lending and so patiently forbearing that £60,000 at his majesty's first coming to the crown, which his lordship hath promised shall be repaid them, so soon as moneys shall come in. Gondomar being come within forty miles of Madrid, gave up the ghost, and I hope many mischievous plots against our State are dead with him. Sir Robert Naunton,¹ for speaking his mind freely and honestly against these new projects, is turned out of his lodgings at court; and, if somebody's power continue as great as his will, shall be cashiered of his mastership of the wards. Against Sir Robert Mansell's patent for making of his glasses, being his chief livelihood and only reward for all his services, there is a writ of *Quo Warranto* brought, by which it will be forfeit to the king, if his great enemy may prevail against him. There is a gentleman lately committed close prisoner to the Gatehouse for speaking against the duke. The bills of lading of the two last ships now arrived out of the East Indies amount to £300,600, and the other two come before them valued at £200,000.

Extract from another letter from London, of the same date.

Sir Francis Barrington and Sir William Masham, his son-in-law, are delivered out of prison, and the cause of their imprisonment was not for refusing the subsidy, but for refusing to be on the commission to levy it in the county, because they had been lately, without any cause alleged, thrust out of the commission for the peace.

The Lords have not imprisoned any for refusing the subsidy, and it is said to be the king's express command.

¹ He had been in various employments in the last reign, and, in the year 1617, was appointed secretary of state. He died in 1630, leaving a MS. work, since published under the well known title of "Fragmenta Regalia."

But they do as much as that comes to, if it be true, which one confidently affirmed to me even now, that there is a commission come from the council, with thirteen counsellors' hands at it, to press such and such men by name, without Temple Bar all of them, being only such as refused to pay the subsidy. Marquis of Hamilton's departure is upon discontent particularly occasioned by the stopping of his pension, and his place in the spicery, worth about £2,500 per annum, taken away in regard of the benefit: all which are thought to have been at the first but suspensions to make him the more willing to be persuaded to bed his wife,¹ the duke's niece, which he refused to do, though the duke, they say, brought her to him to that end.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, November 10, 1626.

Last Sunday, at night, the duke's grace entertained their majesties and the French ambassador at York House, with great feasting and show, where all things came down in clouds; amongst which, one rare device was a representation of the French king and the two queens, with their chiefest attendants, and so to the life that the queen's majesty could name them. It was four o'clock in the morning before they parted, and then the king and queen together, with the French ambassador, lodged there. The king and queen dined likewise there on Monday, and in the afternoon, from four till eight at night, was dancing. After which, the King went to Whitehall to supper. Some estimate this entertainment at five or six thousand pounds.

There are ten French priests, with a bishop, or supervisor, and lord chamberlain, a secretary, two ladies of the bedchamber, two maids of honour, and one Frenchman in every office to be readmitted.

Divers new honours are conferred, as the Lord Denny² is Earl of Norwich; Sir Nicholas Tufton, of Kent, is Lord Tufton, of Tufton, in Sussex; Viscount Colchester is Earl

¹ Lady Mary, daughter of William Earl of Denbigh, by Susan, daughter of Sir George Villiers, and sister of the Duke of Buckingham.

² Sir Edward Denny, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

Rivers; and his son-in-law, Sir Thomas Savage, is made baron and Viscount.

The Earl of Bristol is again in the Tower, and, as is said, sick.

Count Gondomar, that did herewith so much mischief, and drew the French king, by making peace with Spain, to break the articles with us, at his going out of France, coming to Bordeaux, feasted our English factors and masters of ships, and told them that, before a year came about, there should be again a peace, and they see him in England in as great favour as ever before. But, about some thirty or forty miles this side of Madrid, he died in the way, as some say, not without suspicion of a Spanish fig. He was counted in Spain the great friend to England in all that court.

There is a new offer made to the city, that if they will victual their ships for three months more (and, as some say, give the king £12,000), they shall have liberty to go southward: and what they get shall be their own, and they shall have two of the king's ships to assist them, and fifteen Hollanders. The city hath been three days in consulting about their answer; but it is not yet known what they will resolve upon. It is thought by some they will not accept it; for fear the royal subsidy come upon them, if they should change the setting out of these ships into a private charge.

It is generally believed that the royal subsidy shall be urged universally in the manner which it hath been already in Essex, Kent, Middlesex, Surrey, Hertfordshire. Three yeomen of Hertfordshire, being called before the commissioners at Watford, refused to pay. It is likely some others have done so too: but the oath which they take not to divulge their answers hinders us from hearing the passages of that business.

Extract from another letter from London, of the same date.

The bold speakers begin to go to pound. Captain Brodeman was sent to the Gatehouse, this last week, for speaking more than his part; and, if he be not saved by

twelve men, he may have liberty, perhaps, to speak his mind in his last confession. I must not repeat his words, but himself is taught better manners, to put a greater difference hereafter betwixt a duke and a king.

Upon Thursday, the ten regiments of soldiers were all cashiered, save three. One the duke's, which must lie in Kent; another my Lord Wimbledon's, which must lie in Sussex; and Sir Edward Conway's, which must lie in Ireland, where the captains awhile may trail their pikes, and are promised captain's pay till they be again employed.

The French ambassador, Bassompierre, is said to have made a good treaty, but a bad conclusion; for yesterday, when he desired the confirmation of all things, himself said, the duke meant to stop his mouth with a dish of meat. He hath refused the great demand, and all other rewards, saving the great feast at York House, on Sunday night last.

Here is much bickering before the king, betwixt my Lord Maxwell and the Chancellor of Scotland,¹ who hath kept the seal hitherto, but now must yield, though, as the general voice is, convict in nothing. The Marshal of Scotland is sent for.

Sir John Saville was made a privy councillor yesterday, when the judges who yield to be lenders in this loan, but not to subscribe, will be called to subscription. But the lord chief justice, Sir Randal Crew, and the lord chief baron, Sir John Walter, sent the lord keeper to acquaint his majesty they were in a *præmunire*, as soon as they should have done it. Whereat his majesty was much displeased; and, as I understand this morning, a *quietus est* is sent to Sir Randal Crew to sit no more in judicature.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, November 11, 1626.

I send you what we had last Saturday, unto which I will add no more of our town rumours, because they are commonly false or mistaken, as were those two the last week,

¹ George Hay.

one of the Earl of Carlisle for some gentlemen then committed near unto his name, and partly perhaps out of Sir Robert Naunton's business; the other was but some foolish fancy or apprehension of silly people. Yet is the talk now (and probable enough) that the Earl of Bristol was again on Thursday last committed to the Tower, which, may be, was in speech the week before, and helped the mistake of the Earl of Carlisle.

I saw a letter from London last night, that on Sunday the duke feasted the king and queen at York House, where he discharged the guard, and their majesties lay there all night. His majesty very jocund and merry, being entertained royally with plays and desports, and stayed there near all the next day. Whereupon some people stick not to prate that his majesty is in very great favour with the duke's grace.

Sergeant Richardson is now made justice of the Common Pleas, (Lord Hobart's place) and gave £7000 for it, and also besides to marry the duke's aunt.

Somebody (the name in the letter was forgotten and omitted) gave the queen a jewel, the second in the kingdom, as a bond of his affection to the duke. The duke answerably, not to be wanting on his part, hath, on the queen's behalf, obtained from the king the re-admission of twelve French priests, and chamberlain, and some other officers to attend her.

There is (saith the same letter) a scurvy book come forth, called *The Devil and the Duke*, for which, on Wednesday, was much inquisition in Paul's Churchyard. Caius College business is like to produce some strange precedent, to the utter overthrow of all elections of masters for ever. On Saturday, came down Dr. Man, with a commission from the king to the heads, to inquire and certify him: 1, what public proof of his sufficiency in learning, by any public exercise, and of his manners by his carriage, the new elect hath given, as is fit for a man to be in that place and rank; 2, what he is in respect of his degrees taken in the sciences to his predecessors, the former masters of that college; 3, whether he was elected and qualified according to statute. The doctors have had their meetings

and are divided. The courtiers, Drs. Man, Wren, and Beale, over-furious against him; vice-chancellor indifferent; Collins, Mansell, Ward, Batts, eager for him. He was chosen with unanimous consent of all the fellows; one only that was absent sent notwithstanding his consent under his hand. There is no exception will fasten against the proceeding of the election; so that now all exceptions are against the sufficiency of the elected, in regard of the credit and honour of the University. For, according to the college statute, he is every way qualified. There are near two hundred of us have given our hands, we think him fit for the place at the intreaty of the fellows.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, November 17, 1626.

Our hopes in Westminster Hall, for the restitution of Sir Randal Crew to his place of lord chief justice, are frustrate, for he will by no means subscribe to the legality of this new loan; and it is thought, if his deposing were again to be acted, it would not be done. My Lord Chief Baron, though constantly of the same opinion, stands firm in his place, and so do the rest of the judges, being all in the same predicament. The sergeants also are unanimous with them, which is the reason why Serjeant Richardson's warrant to be lord chief justice of the Common Pleas was torn, when it came to be signed by his majesty; and it is thought by some, that the consequence of all this will be a parliament. Yet the lords itinerant are appointed for several counties; and they say Sir John Saville shall be made a viscount, to be made one of the prime commissioners, that shall prosecute the loan in the north.

The Lady Falkland¹ is newly banished the court, for lately going to mass with the queen, in whose conversion the Roman church will reap no great credit, because she was called home out of Ireland for her grievous extortions.

¹ Elizabeth, wife of Henry Lord Viscount Falkland, lord deputy of Ireland, and sole daughter and heir of Sir Laurence Tanfield, lord chief Baron of the Exchequer.

My Lord Wimbledon, upon my Lord Willoughby's refusal, in regard of the indisposition of his body, is to go general of our four regiments in the Low Countries, to aid the King of Denmark. The French ambassador is to-morrow to take his leave; but how matters are concluded with him I cannot yet relate.

The Danish ambassador here extraordinary is within a day or two to go to the French king in the same quality; and having despatched in France to return hither, and here to continue in ordinary. The London fleet doth yet ride at Gravesend.

I can hear no collecting yet of this new loan, for all that Westminster, and the parts near London, have so long ago subscribed.

To-day¹ these bells rang merrily, in remembrance of famous Queen Elizabeth.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, November 18, 1626.

I hear there are visitors or advisers against the royal subsidy gone abroad into all parts of the kingdom; for yesterday a gentleman was with me, and told me, that the last week, or beginning of this, Dr. Turner came to Sir John Cage's, desired to speak with him, did his errand, that he would both himself and use his powers with others to resist the subsidy, for it was the duke's last refuge; if it failed, he was assured of a parliament. Being desired to stay, he would not a minute, but instantly took horse, saying he had more places to go to, and time was precious; that there was a company had divided themselves into all parts, every one having had his quarter assigned him, to perform this service for the commonwealth. The party affirmed to me, that he was told it presently from Sir John Cage's own mouth.

The vice-chancellor's² funeral was on Thursday. Dr. Ward preached. The doctors have not yet, as I hear, returned their certificates concerning the new election.

¹ The day of her accession to the throne, in 1558.

² Dr. Gostlin.

The impediments hath been their division among themselves; but some of the fellows, with their new master, went up this day sennight with a memorial of six or seven score hands, which they had procured in the university, and a petition to the duke (as I hear), very home and downright, remembering him of his oath and his promises to defend the privileges of the university; but what success they have, I yet hear not.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, November 25, 1626.

I received from Mr. Pory last night a piece of news, whereof some was wonderous strange, if it proved true; and I suppose he wrote a day before his time, that he might be the first relator, as he was. I will exscribe his whole letter. Judge as you shall see reason when you come to it.

“ London, November 23.

“ Mr. Badgecraft was yesterday accomplished, according to his wish, both by his grace, and also by the king; whereupon to-day he is gone to give thanks to them both, and all this he tells me hath not cost a groat.

“ Those thirteen householders, who, for refusing to subscribe, were pressed to serve the king at Portsmouth, went thither on Friday last; where being arrived, they could find nobody that would own them as their captain, and so on Monday they are returned to their houses without control. To-day I was told by Sir N. N., that many of the lords (not privy counsellors) being sent to about subscription, have refused both that and payment. Another related to me, that the first that were sent to were—the Earl of Warwick, the Earl of Bolingbroke, the Earl of Lincoln, and my Lord Stanhope, who, *ad hoc unum*, are proved all recusants.

“ Here is a speech of a peace with Spain, and that no more letters of marque will be granted.

“ The mounting chief justice upon each bench is now more rife in men’s mouths than hath at any time been

since the term began. Sergeant Davies, who hath written lately in favour of the king's prerogative, is named for the King's Bench, and Sergeant Richardson for the Common Pleas. Yet it is said all, both judges and sergeants, have hitherto kept their ground, in not yielding to subscribe—no, not to a medium, as they have lately been required.

“ But the sweetest news, like marchpane, I keep for the banquet. Now the French ambassador is departed, a certain heterochta ambassador is coming upon the stage. A youth he is, I hear, with never a hair on his face; and the principals by whom he is sent, and whom he is to represent, lies concealed in this town: and in one word, to solve this riddle, is the President of the Society of Rosy Cross;¹ whose said ambassador, on Sunday afternoon, hath appointed to come to court, with thirteen coaches. The proffers he is to make his majesty are no small ones; to wit—if his majesty will follow his advice, he will presently put three millions, viz., thirty hundred thousand pounds, into his coffers, and will teach him a way how to suppress the Pope; how to bring the Catholic King on his knees; how to advance his own religion all over Christendom; and, lastly, how to convert Turks and Jews to Christianity: than which you can desire no more in this world.”

Thus he; and promises me a letter this night. What think you? for I know not. Is it a game or a verity?

Dr. Hill, master of Katherine Hall, well on Sunday, and eat his meat, and was merry, though troubled with a cough, died yesterday morning at Fulburne, his parsonage.

Mr. Pory to the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, Sunday, November 26, 1626.

The young ambassador of our President of the Rosy Cross did not appear this afternoon at Whitehall; but, they say, he proffereth his three millions, to be paid in May next. We all fear he will prove but a mountebank,

¹ The Rosicrucians, or alchymists.

and his project a second part of *England's joy*. He sent a letter unto the king, the copy whereof is this:—

Glorioso et dilecto Filio Dei, et nostro Domino Carolo, Imperatori Britannico, &c.

Origines.

Indicatur hisce presentibus regie tue majestati prodicionem summam adversus tuam et meam personam a me detectam esse: ideoque velim mihi dari... ..satellites regios, qui comprehensos proditores.....deducant.

M. PHILIPPUS.

His name, they say, is Phillippus Ishbertus; and his ambassador's or messenger's name (which is but a youth), *Origines*.

My Lord of Essex and Sir Peregrine Bertie came out of the Low Countries, having left the four regiments of England, which should go to the King of Denmark, almost empty of men. The French ambassador departed on Thursday night; who, besides his gifts, which do amount almost to £12,000, hath leave to transport a huge quantity of leather, and so many horses as he will. He hath besides, as I hear, had all his demands, though nothing be done for us in France. At Bourdeaux, the crafty, malicious French suffered our merchants to lade the wines; but no sooner had they paid for the same, but the French arrested ships, and wines, and all: and told the English, in scorn, that they should be permitted to be transported, so it were in French bottoms.

Here is speech of an extraordinary ambassador to be sent into France, viz.—either my Lord Carlisle or the Earl of Dorset.

To-morrow, it is said, Sergeant Richardson shall be lord chief justice of the Common Pleas, and Sir John Davis¹ nominated to the King's Bench, because he hath

¹ Author of an excellent poem on the immortality of the soul, entitled *Nosce Teipsum*, written at Oxford, after he had been expelled the Temple for insulting the recorder of London. He wrote many other works, both in prose and verse: the former were collected in one volume, 8vo., 1706, under the title of "Historical Tracts:" the latter in 1773, in the same form.

written a book in defence of the legality of this new loan.¹

The London fleet hath all this while been wind-bound at Gravesend, so that, if they go any voyage, they must revictual before they go out.

Extract from another letter from London, November 27.

There is a stranger hath been two years in London, and some say is the same, who, as hath been heretofore reported, told the Prince Palatine, at the beginning of his election to the crown of Bohemia, of all the misfortunes and calamities which have befallen him since that time, and nevertheless advised him to accept it. Whosoever he be, he yesterday sent a letter to our king, by David Ramsay, a copy whereof we took from the original, immediately after he had been with the king. He gave Mr. Ramsay further instructions, as to tell his majesty that, if he pleased to grant him allowance, he would send this next Sunday, and impart many things unto his majesty of moment and secrecy; and that he would perform it by the mouth of a young child, whom he had already anointed, and such like. I tell it you for news; but, for my part, I have but a small faith in the business, supposing it is either some fantastical folly; or, if more, that it will tend to imposture.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

Friday, December 1, 1626.

There were some 300 sailors come up for their wages, which this other day broke open the great gate of Sir William Russell, treasurer of the navy, and would have plucked him out by the ears, had he not given them fair words. Since, his house hath been guarded with pikes and muskets, and my lord treasurer's at Clerkenwell with halberds: of which sailors and mariners they are 5000 in all, whose wages cannot amount to so little as £30,000.

¹ Published in London in 1656, in 8vo., under the title of *Jus imponendi Vectigalia*; or, the Learning touching the Customs, Tonnage, Poundage, and Impositions on Merchandizes, &c., asserted.

The importunity of these, and of those that are to come, have, it seems, made this great duke willing to change this troubled air. For now, against the persuasion of some of his best friends, he will over in all haste (some say tomorrow, some say Monday) into France, to negotiate the peace of Christendom. Others, that he may be absent during a parliament, which would but little help; and others, that he may procure a relief for our English ships and goods.

They say also he meditates underhand to be reconciled to the Earl of Bristol, the Earl of Arundel, and other discontented lords: which what should it presage but a parliament.

The loan some think is at the highest,¹ for not only for the refusal of the judges to subscribe to the legality of it, and the refusal of many lords to pay upon letters sent unto them doth much prejudice the current thereof; but also because that in Kent, though they have freely both subscribed and paid, yet detain they still the money within their county, till the regiment soldiers there lodged shall be answered their pay. For they say plainly they mean not to lend the king so great a sum, and maintain the soldiers too. And those of Hertfordshire have, by a letter of six hundred hands to it, expostulated with my Lord of Salisbury for inducing them to subscribe, by making them believe the judges had already subscribed, and so are become non-solvent till such a time, as they see other counties (which have not yet been meddled withal) come off.

On Tuesday, six captains that had served in Ireland entered forcibly into the duke's chamber at Whitehall as he sat at dinner, and told him they so long served the king without any pay, and were cast without any pay at all, that it was not wont to be the use of his majesty's predecessors, nor of any prince in the world besides; and that they supposed all was long of him. Whereunto his grace replied, asking them, if they stood not in awe of the late proclamation, which on pain of hanging forbade all soldiers and mariners to come to the court in troops about

¹“ But it is not, we come off freely here at Cambridge, and the commissioners are now sitting in other shires also.”—*Note of Mr. Mead.*

any business. To which the captains answered him again, that if they were hanged, there were more others to be hanged with them for company, and from this proceeded to such uncouth language, as his excellency was fain to yield, and to promise them upon his honour they should very speedily be satisfied.

On the day before, namely Monday, it was debated in full council, his majesty being present, whether those stubborn lords that refused to pay this loan should be committed or no? My Lord of Dorset besought his majesty, for the advancement of his service, that they might, and his reasons were:—1st, The general conformity of Essex both to subscribe and to pay upon the commitment of Sir Francis Barrington and Sir William Masham. And 2nd, because if these lords were not also made examples, they would infect the rest of the kingdom. At last, it being put to the question, my Lord of Dorset's opinion proved too light only by two voices, and so was exploded. Howbeit their lordships, for all their escape, are put into the black book.

This very day was there a new council established at Wallingford House, which highteth the Council of the Sea, consisting of divers privy counsellors and other lords and knights.

Sergeant Richardson on Tuesday, the last day of the term, was by my lord keeper mounted lord chief justice upon the tribunal of the common pleas, being on Monday either married or contracted at least to the Lady Ashburnham, the duke's kinswoman, and having formerly made her a jointure out of his lands in Kent and Essex.

Extract from another letter from London, of the same date.

Here hath been ever since Monday morning soldiers in the streets seeking for their pay, causing the trained men to be in arms; and yesterday two of the city captains with their companies were, by order from the council, appointed to guard the house of Sir William Russell, who had some money to pay the mariners lately employed in the king's service; but, because it came short, he feared the pulling

down of his house about his ears. Captain Brodeman, who was committed to the Gatehouse, was removed into the Tower, where upon Wednesday he died upon the rack,¹ as it is generally spoken. On Wednesday also the Strand Company was appointed to guard York House and the duke's person.

The city fleet lies still at Gravesend, having now but two months' victuals.

Sir John Watts is now at Portsmouth, where the Lion of the king's and eight sail more are preparing; but whether all these shall make up one fleet I know not.

The Irrefragados of St. Clement's are returned from Portsmouth, and tell us, they were sent to the clerk of the cheque there, who had no order to entertain them, and therefore presently dismissed them under his hand. The soldiers of that town bestowed a volley of shot upon them, and during their abode there called them up every morning with drum and fife.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, December 2, 1626.

For the *Rosy Cross* president you shall see his ambassador appeared not at the time appointed by the enclosed of Mr. Pory, dated on Sunday afternoon. It seems his majesty would not give him audience. You shall see here his letter to the king. The contents methinks argue it comes from some whose brains croak. It is said here, that the king should say, if he could tell where to find him, unless he made good presently his proffer of gold, he would hang him up at the court gates; whereby it seems he is latent and undiscovered, and meant so to be; but use a child for his minister and messenger, whose innocency and age might secure him from his usage, as himself the principal, was like to find. Some think it is somebody whose brains are cracked. Others, a plot to have got access unto the king in private for discovery of some matter against the duke; others otherwise as their fancies lead them.²

¹ See Mr. Mead's letter of December 9.

² This was one of the several attempts made about this period to draw the king's attention to the mischievous influence of the Duke of Buckingham; but Charles had too completely given himself up to the fascinations of the favourite to heed such manœuvres.

Katherine Hall men have chosen Mr. Sibbs¹ their master, and admitted him. I know not what good turn they have done him, having neither preferment but the lecture at Gray's Inn; and the mastership is not worth forty marks a-year; they say not £20 *communibus annis*, save the benefit of convenient lodgings.

I had thought to have sent my lady, for a new-year's gift, our Fish-book, entitled *Vox piscis*, printed at London with Dr. Goad's² preface; and a good one, were it not for some youthful and conceited passages which I would had been left out. The bookbinder pleased me not in the binding, or else it had been sent.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, Sunday, December 3, 1626.

Since my last, I hear my Lord Willoughby is to be created Earl of Lindsey; and that yesterday, in the forenoon, Dr. White was made Bishop of Carlisle by him of Durham at Durham House, where was posted over a door, as the spectators came forth from his consecration, these words in print:— "*Is an Arminian now made Bishop? and is a consecration translated from Lambeth to Durham House?*" And now it is given out with more confidence that Durham shall be Winchester, and Bath and Wells Durham. But how the rest I know not.

Friday, at the first assembly of the new Council for the Sea, my lord duke, with a great deal of seeming zeal to the business, appointed three days in a week to sit with his fellow-commissioners in the court of wards; and never to fail a day. But yesterday, being the second day of the meeting, made all the commissioners and other lords of the council attend him at Wallingford House till eleven o'clock, and then word came, he had been locked up three hours in private with the king. So they all departed *re infecta*, not only discontent, but angry, that they should be thus (as they took it) dallied with, and concluded in one general opinion,

¹ Richard Sibbs, afterwards D.D. He died 5th July, 1635.

² Thomas Goad, D.D., chaplain to Archbishop Abbot, rector of Hadleigh in Suffolk, and at last prebendary of Canterbury. He was educated at King's College, Cambridge, and was son of Roger Goad, provost of that college.

that now he was hammering his journey to France. Queen Dido did never more importune Æneas's stay at Carthage, than his mother and sister do his continuance here at London, yea, even with tears, upon their knees. But now he is past the Rubicon; for not only his ingenious architect Gerbier¹ is gone before to provide him a house at Paris; but his instructions are also drawn, and his purpose is to be gone on Wednesday or Thursday next. I hear not of any lords or men of quality that go with him save only Sir William Becher, one of the clerks of the council, who is to act as his secretary; nor that he intends to have any great train. It is generally thought that in his absence we shall have a parliament.

His grace took a shape upon the other (Thursday) night, which many thought too histrionical to become him; when in the presence of king, queen, ambassadors, and the flower of the court, he acted a master of defence, to teach the great porter to skirmish, as my Lord of Holland, a privy counsellor, also taught him the mathematics, and Sir George Goring to dance. For in the great masque on Thursday was sennight that overgrown Janitor, hight Gargantua, son and heir to Pantagruel, after whose decease Gargamella his master, desirous to breed up the young gentleman in virtuous qualities, recommended the care of his youth to those three grave tutors, whereof though the third might be excused, yet never before then did any privy counsellor appear in a masque.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, December 9, 1626.

Our worst news is out of France, that not only our merchants' goods and money are still there under arrest, but also that at Bourdeaux all our English and Scottish ships, which went thither for wines, are still detained, and, as is said, their masters and masters' mates imprisoned; yea, and many, if not most of them, after they had bought their wines, paid for them, customed and laded them, yea, and paid the new impost of four crowns more upon a ton than was usual, besides the yards and sails taken from the

¹ A celebrated artist.

masts and brought ashore. There are in this arrest 200 sail: 130 English, and 70 Scottish; wherein are above 300 pieces of great ordnance, besides small shot, 4,000 sailors, 16,000 tons of wine, and other merchandize. What this means, or will come to, we know not.

The last Sunday, news being come over night that M. Bassompierre was by tempest driven back by sea to Dover, the duke, the Earls of Dorset and Holland, with the Lord Carleton, rode early to visit him, and returned on Monday night, or Tuesday. It was said his grace and the Earl of Holland do speedily go thither, and that their necessaries for that journey are packing up.

The contrary winds first, then tempestuous weather, and the dark night-tides hindered our London fleet above a month from getting into the Downs, where now a day or two since we hope they are, by which their stay they lose the opportunity of meeting with 30 or 40 sail of Biscayners that are come to Dunkirkers with soldiers, sailors, ammunition, and money. A ship of the Earl of Warwick's fell amongst them, and yet not only got away, but also brought one of theirs home with her to Plymouth. What then might our 20 sail have done had they been in the way?

I heard last night that Sergeant Davis, who it is said looked to be Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench in place of Sir Randal Crew, was found dead in his bed.¹

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, December 9, 1626.

The commissioners for the loan have been here Thursday and yesterday. They came off here roundly, few or none refusing. They are to pay half within fourteen days. The commissioners, I hear, are now at Newmarket; what they do there you can know better.

I send my lady the fish book, bound in the same order it was taken out of the fish's belly; for our bookbinders used to put the *Preparation of the Cross* first, because the *Treasure of Knowledge* being almost wholly consumed,

¹ On Thursday morning, December 7, 1626, in the 57th year of his age.

they mistook the place of it, when the book was pulled asunder.

Captain Brodeman hath been racked ; but I cannot hear it confirmed by any other that he died upon the rack, and therefore I think it untrue, and my author deceived.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, December 13, 1626.

As I wrote last of Sir John Davis, who, it is said, was writing, or had written, a book unto his majesty in defence of the royal subsidy, and looked to be lord chief justice of the Bench, how that he died suddenly in his bed, after he had supped the evening before at the lord keeper's, and then thought to be well ; so on Friday night last week also Mr. Gunter, parson of St. George's, Southwark, and one of the mathematic lecturers in Gresham College, having there at the college had divers gentlemen at supper with him in his chamber, who departed not till twelve at night, he went afterwards, seeming well, to bed, but was in the like manner next morning there found dead. And a great young lady having the king's evil, came thither in the afternoon to have her tumor stroked with his dead hand, for cure of her malady.

On Thursday last week, at two in the afternoon, was high water here, and at eight at night high water again, and so a double tide ; and at ten flowed again of ordinary course.

Extract from another letter from London, of the same date.

Last night my Lord Carleton's chamber at Whitehall, situated towards the waterside between the queen's lodgings and my lord treasurer's, was set on fire, no man knows how : and had not a cat scorched in the flames made great noise, the whole house had run a hazard of being burnt to ashes.

Ten of the king's ships are by the new Council of the Sea appointed presently to be put into the dock. And it is thought two men, viz., Sir William Russell, late treasurer of the navy, and Burrell, the carpenter, will be found horrible delinquents.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, December 16, 1626.

I shall, I hope, bring you on Saturday this day's news; and then I think I have fulfilled a 'prenticeship of seven years, so long it is since I begun.

This of the death of Sir John Davis, for aught I can hear, holds true. It is added that he was at supper with my lord keeper that evening before, and was told by him that he should be lord chief justice of the King's Bench; but he lived not to see the morning. My Lord of Huntingdon¹ rode up upon this news, for he is his heir.

I hear there are some five or six Scottish lords at Huntingdon, but, having received a message from the king, they dare not yet come farther. The Scottishmen say here that his majesty requires they should receive their lands and estates anew from him, which their predecessors have held without any such reacknowledgment ever since the days of Fergus.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, January 13, 1626-7.

If you have received what I sent by Dr. Law, you cannot expect much more this week; yet something since:

That Gottier the Lutinist² had no pistols, hath not been racked, nor examined by any but the duke; and that some talk strangely of it. Another account is that he was apprehended on Wednesday was sennight, at the solemnization of a marriage at Sir Robert Killebrew's between Mr. Kirk and Mrs. Killebrew, Sir Robert's sister, the king there present; and that the king or duke made the match.

That the pope's bull forbids our catholics, upon pain of anathematism, to take the oath of allegiance, which it calls *illicitum et noxium juramentum*. My author's author saw it, showed him by Potter, one of the queen's priests, a secular, who railed on the Jesuits for it.

That my Lord of Bristol breaks out in blisters.

¹ Ferdinando Lord Hastings, eldest son of Henry, Earl of Huntingdon, married Lucy, daughter and heiress of Sir John Davis, and in 1613 succeeded his father in his title.

² See pp. 186, 189, 190.

That my Lord Hunsdon, being fallen into a relapse, and without likelihood of recovery, hath contracted or married his son and heir to Sir John Butler's daughter, the duke's kinswoman.

Thus that letter. I saw besides of last week, that the king had made a match between Sir Robert Stanley,¹ second son to the Earl of Derby, and one of the maids of honour, to the great discontentment of the countess,² his mother, notwithstanding the king had written letters to pacify her; first, because it was done upon expectation of the death of her eldest son, irrecoverably sick; second, because she was never made acquainted with it.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, January 19, 1626-7.

The lord commissioners have gone their several journeys, notwithstanding the season. Norfolk, Suffolk, Huntingdonshire are roundly come off: but in Northamptonshire, or in division thereof, especially on the side towards Oxfordshire, it was by petition generally excused, unless by parliament; for which they besought the commissioners to be humble suitors to his majesty, upon which refusal many are said to be put over to the council board; and that Sir Erasmus Dryden,³ of Ashby, is already come up. There were, as is said, 205 freeholders, and above 20 knights and esquires, refusers.

It is said there is order for the making ready of twenty of the king's ships.

Here is little trading, and at the custom-house they are said to have less doings than in the time of the late great plague.

It is said that the business between the duke and the Earl of Bristol, who, beyond all men's hope, is like to recover, goes on in the Star Chamber, and is this term like

¹ Made knight of the bath at the coronation of James I.

² Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Edward Vere, Earl of Oxford. She died 11 March, 1626-7.

³ Wood (*Fæsti Oxon.*, vol. i., col. 115) remarks that the first of his surname who had settled in Northamptonshire was a schoolmaster, and being learned and well acquainted with the celebrated Erasmus, the latter stood godfather to one of his sons, which was the reason that that Christian name descended in that family.

to come to hearing. The earl is to come to lie at the house that was Sir Francis Leigh's, in Fenchurch Street.

It is said that Mr. Nicholas Hyde¹ is like to be lord chief justice, my Lord Durham² Bishop of Winchester, and my Lord of Lincoln³ Bishop of Durham.

The queen's masque was held last Sunday, which is said to have been preparing and performing from three in the afternoon till four next morning. The king took much pains in placing the ladies' gentlewomen with his own hand. The masque ended, his majesty, with the duke, and fourteen others of the noblemen and knights, led, the queen being one, and the rest of the masquers, a dance. Doubtless it cost abundance. It was said one Mr. Chalmer sold 1000 yards of taffaty and satin towards it.

Extract from another letter from London, of the same date.

The commissioners for the navy are still at Chatham, where they are measuring ships, timber, cordage, bolts, &c., by the rule: the strictness of which survey hath already found out much false dealing; and it is thought that Mr. Burrell, one of the late commissioners, and the chief carpenter over these works, a man friendless and yet full of money, must pay for all; whether by his neck, or purse, or both, I know not.

The Scottish lords are said to have good satisfaction; but not yet their bishops or ministers, whose petition what it is I hear not. Another account says the business of Scotland is referred to forty-four peers of that kingdom, whereof the king to appoint one half and the Lords the other. Yet will not the kingdom of Scotland stand to any censure or sentence of theirs; only, their opinion must be sent up to the king; but the next parliament in Scotland must decide it.

There are divers commissions granted to Scottish captains to levy men in Scotland against the next spring, to be with the King of Denmark early in the year; for Tilly will speedily be again in those parts, with his forces in the

¹ Third son of Lawrence Hyde, of West Hatch, in Wiltshire, grandfather to Earl Clarendon and lord chancellor.

² Dr. Nevill.

³ Dr. Williams.

field, now the boors by his aid have been dispersed and defeated.

Of Captain Pennington we have many idle tales: the last certainty we could hear of was of his riding at the Black Ness. Since his going hence, they talk now that he is ere this at the mouth of the river of Bourdeaux.

Our merchants have taken as many ships of the French as will countervail the loss of their own; most of them lie at Plymouth. Two Spanish ships are likewise taken, which were only furnished with men and munition. It is likely they were rovers. They are very large. The one beareth thirty-two pieces of ordnance.

Sir Dudley Digges is still in the fleet; Sir Francis Barington in the Marshalsea, stout and resolute.

The company of seamen about this town are more busy than ever they were formerly. They lie much about my lord lieutenant's house; whereupon there is daily watch kept, to prevent their doing mischief. A fortnight ago, two of them were slain by the watchmen for some disorder.

Gottier is or shall be removed from the Tower to Newgate. His offence was for ravishing the Earl of Doncaster's¹ daughter, being his scholar for the lute and dancing. Wherefore he deserves not the first horrible imprisonment, but had it, as it seems, the better to dash the report of the true cause; and thereby, if it could be, to avoid the aspersion that will undeservedly be cast upon her.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, January 26, 1626.

On Tuesday the lord steward and chamberlain returned to court from Wiltshire and Somerset, where it is said most gave willingly, the justices all of them their money down, save only one who subscribed; and two villages near Marlborough, as their lordships returned from London, presented on Saturday last their petitions in respect of disability, but none was received.

¹ James Hay, Viscount Doncaster, and Earl of Carlisle, King James's first favourite.

The city fleet is returned, which having parted company, sometimes by storms, sometimes by reason of the long, dark nights, put in, some into Plymouth, some into Portsmouth. The undoubted journal of this expedition is as followeth: from the bridge at London they went to Gravesend; from Gravesend into the Downs; from the Downs to the Black Ness, near to Boulogne; from Boulogne they sailed, and came to anchor at Newhaven; from Newhaven they next anchored before St. Malo's, where their victuals were drawn to a small pittance; and the sailors began to think of him, yet with a reserved patience, till they should come into the straits of four or five days' allowance. Then fell there a difference betwixt the captains and sailors: the sailors would home; the captains would stay, purposing to put six or seven to the mast, which, as it was somewhat too short for the cold weather, so will not a sailor endure it, when he is near the coast. This quarrel grew to that height, that in one ship the sailors had gotten their captain half overboard; and had not the master and the mates interceded, the other half had followed. Captain Phillpot also had a fair warning amongst them, who, being gone to the council of war to consult how these mutineers should be punished, his men in the mean time watching his return, had cut one of the ropes by which the ladder hung upon the ship's side. But as the captain was coming on board again, it chanced his coxswain was very officious, and went first up the ladder, to hand up his captain, who had no sooner set his foot upon the first step, but the ladder came round, and the poor fellow dropped into the sea, and so was drowned in his captain's stead. When they were come to this pass, then was no longer striving, and so immediately they came home, bringing with them fourteen sail of small French ships, with some good merchandize, to make good our ships at Blaye and Bourdeaux. As soon as these old mutinous fellows were come into the harbour, the captains desired their hands for testimony that their victuals were all spent, and that they would not to sea till they should be revictualled. A sheet of paper being laid before them, they accordingly wrote their names and marks, but in a good round circular form, that so none

might appear for a ringleader; but if any suffer, they will go to it, as themselves say, *one and all, one and all*.

There was this week committed to prison a schoolmaster, for receiving or writing some book against the duke about that former accusation of poisoning the late king. But it is expected daily that his grace should be accused of some of these matters in the Star Chamber, that so he might be judicially acquitted and clear himself.

Here is again a mighty preparation of shipping towards, as it is given out; and yesterday it was begun by the pressing of ten ships.

Extract from another letter from London, of the same date.

The Northamptonshire gentlemen were on Wednesday before the Lords; at what time Mr. Knightly was committed to the Fleet, not for the refusal of the subsidy, but, as it is said, for not kneeling at the council-table, when he was called to answer. The duke is gone in person into Buckinghamshire and Bedfordshire, to further the loan in those parts.

It is true my Lord of Bristol is upon recovery, and hath, by permission, taken a house in Fenchurch Street: yet was that of his strong pimples and other symptoms very true also.

Sir Francis Barrington continues in the Marshalsea, with his lady and daughter with him, where he hath every Sunday two sermons, and on Sunday last old Mr. Dod¹ preached before him forenoon and afternoon. His text, say those who heard him, Apos., ii., 10—Fear none of those things which thou shalt suffer. Behold the devil shall cast some of you into prison, that ye may be tried, and shall have tribulation ten days.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, February 2, 1626-7.

Mr. Nicholas Hyde is made sergeant, and, it is said, shall be lord chief justice. Divers have been this week

¹ John Dod, M.A., born in Cheshire, educated in Jesus College, Cambridge, successively minister of Hanwell, in Oxfordshire. Fenny Drayton, in Leicestershire,

committed of Dorset and Northamptonshire. Of the first, Sir John Strangways, Sir Walter Earle, Mr. Tregury, Mr. Savage; and of the latter, Sir Erasmus Dryden, Sir Edward Hambleton, Sir John Pickering, Sir William Wilmore, Sir William Chauncy, (who is in Newgate) Mr. Elmes, and others. And it is thought some may perhaps be sent to serve the King of Denmark.

There hath been a terrible earthquake in Somersetshire, at and about Wells and Glastonbury, twice, morning and evening, upon the 13th, and again in the morning of the 15th of the last month. It was accompanied, as they write, with a great noise in the air; but the first time was the most terrible.

Gottier, the queen's musician, now in the Tower, was accused by two others, not of treason, but some foul matter or report concerning the Earl of C.'s¹ daughter; but on being confronted with his accusers, is said to have answered so well for himself, that he hath the liberty of the Tower, and his accusers to be there detained.

Yesterday, some hundreds of sailors went for their pay to Whitehall, against whom the gates were shut; but his majesty, coming into the gallery to see them, sent unto them a gentleman, with a message that they should depart, and to-day, near the Tower, they should of such a man have their pay. Whereat they threw up their hats, leaped and cried, "God save King Charles!" and so separated.

The ten London ships pressed, and some of the king's, are making ready with all speed that may be.

Extract from another letter from London, of the same date.

This week are ten knights and gentlemen of quality, of Northamptonshire, committed to several prisons for refusing to subscribe and lend; and of them, Sir William Chauncy sent to Newgate, because [he affronted] the Earl of Dorset at the council-table. Three likewise of Dorsetshire, one of Buckinghamshire, and Sir John Heveningham, of

Canons Ashby, and Fansley, besides in Northamptonshire, though for a second time silenced in each of them. He died at Fansley in 1645, aged about ninety.

¹ Carlisle's: see before, p. 186.

Norfolk. Lincolnshire did little better than rebel ;¹ for they would not hear the commission read, and, as is said, went about to have untiled the house over the commissioners' heads. Shropshire hath utterly denied, and so hath Devonshire, and the gentlemen of Warwickshire, that are sent for up, do refuse to come. What dire events may this next summer follow upon this, together with the enmity of Spain, France, and Flanders, God only knows and can avert.

It is much talked of a pamphlet come from Frankfort, of four sheets of paper, called *Instructio Secretissima Frederico*, written by some Jesuit, or ill-willer of our state. The scope is to put a jealousy between his majesty and the Queen of Bohemia, as though the king her husband were advising to make some adventure to get footing in this kingdom, and that he hath here a greater faction of puritans and other enemies of the duke ready to assist him; which lewd libel, they say, is shortly to be burnt in public.

Extract from another letter from London, of the same date.

Gottier hath more of his countrymen sent to accompany him in the Tower, viz., one Monsieur Seivitt, and another, Mrs. de Laster, who was formerly the Earl of Carlisle's eldest daughter's woman, is gone the same way for dishonouring her lady, as to have forcibly suffered, or been attempted by Gottier, her master in music and dancing, when she was but eleven years old—Mrs. de Laster, upon the cry, coming to the rescue, as she hath prated; but to what purpose, and with what truth, time perhaps may make more evident.

The prisons are full of Northamptonshire gentry: one lord and three knights are in the Gatehouse in Westminster; Mr. Knightly hath been, ever since the former week, in the Fleet, because he would not kneel at the council-table, lest, as they interpret it here, he should seem to acknowledge a fault, and crave mercy where he is

¹ " True that they refused generally, only two excepted, but the rest (as a gentleman of that country tells me) is mistaken. The commission was all of the county, forty privy councillors there."—*Note of Mr. Mead.*

not guilty. Many of his countrymen are with him in the same prison, and many more in the Marshalsea. As for the freeholders who refused with them, they were commanded to muster upon the artillery yard. Whether it hold, I know not from whence, they should be sent to Denmark.

Our sailors are very busy here in town, to the number of 500, have broken Sir William Russell's windows, and threaten, besides, if they find not satisfaction quickly, Shrovetide Tuesday shall be made such one as London ever saw.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, February 3—Shrove-eve, 1626-7.

Besides what is in the enclosed, holding the bottom of my second letter against the fire till it grew brown, I read as followeth :

“Sir—Will you believe that the duke should be carried in his box by six men to St. James's to tennis, and the king walk by him on foot? It is true. I doubt not but you have heard of the play in Christmas, which was begun again at the duke's entering, the king having heard one full act.”

Because my author was so private, I thought not fit to make it so common as the rest.

I hear that since Mr. Knightly, there are some more of the Northamptonshire committed, as by name Sir Erasmus Dryden, Sir John Pickering. Is Sir John Igham one of the number? They say Bedfordshire hath refused.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, February 9, 1626-7.

Yesterday was Sir Nicholas Hyde sworn lord chief justice of the King's Bench by my lord treasurer, by deputation from my lord keeper, who was not fully recovered of his late infirmity; but this afternoon being with his lord-

ship, in company of my Lord Warwick, he said he hoped to-morrow to sit in chancery.

To-day morning, there was a cause to be heard in the King's Bench somewhat concerning the Earl of Dorset, at the suit of a feather-maker in Blackfriars, who had sold his lordship feathers, two of his men being bound with him for the payment; so when the man could not get his money, he sued his sureties. While the cause was this day *sub judice*, came a letter from that earl to Judge Doddridge, intreating him to stay the suit, because the feather-maker had committed great insolency in arresting his men, when, as indeed, the debt was properly his, and that he would get him punished for his audacity. The judge never opened the letter himself, but gave it to an officer of the court to read in public, which, being done, the judge, like a true Roman, ordered the suit should proceed against the defendants.

This afternoon, the rest of the Northamptonshire men appeared before the Lords, and, it is thought, will be committed as their fellows.

The last Sunday, at four in the afternoon, my Lord Mountjoy,¹ without asking counsel of his brother, the Earl of Warwick, was married at Whitehall to Sir John Butler's daughter, one of the duke's kindred. They lay in the duke's own bed, which, some say, will be a great part of the portion he will have with her. Yet some give out, he shall be a colonel of six hundred horse, which shall scour the kingdom to fetch up the loan. For most certainly there is yet but £20,000 thereof come into the exchequer, whereof £12,000 paid in by the nobility. This I heard this afternoon out of the mouth of one, through whose hands all receipts and all payments do pass.

The Lord Baltimore, lately secretary, by the name of Sir George Calvert, is sent out of Ireland, to be employed at Brussels for a treaty of peace between Spain and England. His colleagues shall be the Earl of Salisbury,

¹ Natural son of Sir Charles Blount, Earl of Devonshire, who died in 1606, by Penelope, sister to the unfortunate Robert D'Evereux, Earl of Essex, and wife of Robert Lord Rich, created Earl of Warwick in 1618, and mother of Robert the second Earl. This Mountjoy was created Earl of Newport by King Charles I., and died February 12, 1665.

honoris causâ, and Sir Richard Western, and Sir Humphrey May.

Here was a petition delivered by Sir Harry Ley, a captain, to the king, on Sunday, in the name and behalf of all captains that had been at Cadiz, beseeching his majesty, because their reputation was slain for want of their salary to pay their debts, that he would dispose of their lives as he pleased. This hath been interpreted by some of the Lords, as if they should tax the king of tyranny. The captains deny that they meant any such matter. The Lords demand who was the penman or inditer. They answer, *all, all*. A warrant is out to commit Sir Henry Ley. The captains by the Lords are proffered a month's pay, and henceforth weekly to be paid. They answer, so little will do them no good, and will not accept of the offer.

Extract from another letter from London, of the same date.

There is a new plot now on foot for money. Every knight bachelor shall have a riband, with a jewel of £5, from the king, to wear continually for distinction between them and gentlemen, for which they must pay presently £25, and the refusers to be degraded. Baronets for the like to pay £40.

Sir Nicholas Hyde sat yesterday in the King's Bench lord chief justice. The attorney-general moved the other day, before the barons of the exchequer, to have a *scire facias* granted out against those that had contracted for the payment of the royal subsidy, and now refuse to pay. The barons said it was a hard case, and took time to give sentence therein.¹

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, February 10, 1626-7.

Sir William Chauncy's committing to Newgate is said to be upon this: he had been in his younger time guilty of

¹ No doubt, the barons were right in their opinion. The reader should bear in mind the increasing "hardness" of the case, and the miserable state of things produced by the folly and injustice of these proceedings.

a robbery, for which being upbraided by the Earl of Dorset before the Lords, and threatened by him to have his pardon questioned, he replied, after he had seemly confessed his sin, that yet he thanked God that he was never guilty of blood, and neither had nor needed any pardon for it, and something more to that purpose, aiming at the Earl of Dorset.¹

The sailors, after they had on Thursday been with the king, went to Tower Hill, set a boy upon the scaffold there, who was, with "O yes!" made proclaim, that they had been with King Charles; that he had promised them their pay in that place on the morrow, being Friday; but if they had it not then, they made known that the duke should lose his head there on Saturday. This was the talk.

The train bands were all in arms from Thursday till Shrove Tuesday. What they are since I know not. Sir John Heveningham is in the Marshalsea.

Sir John Corbet hath absolutely denied at council-table, as I saw by his own letter, but was not then committed.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, February 16, 1626-7.

It is said the duke's servant and master of the architecture is come back from France, with direct answer, that the French king will not by any means permit the duke to come thither; but for any other, he is content. This man also is said to report, that there seems no hope at all of having our men and ships released from Bordeaux; but that the French king intends to employ those that are serviceable against Rochelle.

A new commission is said to be sent down into Lincolnshire about this royal loan, and that Yorkshire hath wholly yielded unto it, howbeit, with this proviso, that the money remain in their own treasurer's hands, to see it be directly employed for the good of the kingdom.

The death of Sir Nicholas Hyde's best beloved son, and

¹ Who had killed Edward Lord Kinloss in a duel, in 1603.

his wife's distraction, are yet affirmed for true; yet his wife is somewhat amended.

On Monday last, the Earl of Lincoln being defendant, in the Star Chamber, he moved, that he might, according to custom, put in his answer upon his honour, and not upon his oath; but it was nevertheless ordered to be upon oath.

The Earl of Bristol, who hath, this three or four nights, taken indifferent rest, put in his answer last week.

There are at this present ten ships, all at Portsmouth, designed for new action, under the command of Captain Pennington, and it is said that the commissioners, for that preparation, have taken all the suits of sails of every ship they meet with, leaving them no more than those at their yards. Whereupon some guess they go to take ships out of harbour as well as off at sea. Their victualling shall be but for six weeks or two months at most.

The freeholders which were here bound for the artillery yard for refusing the loan, are gone home upon a supposed connivance and leave of the lieutenant of the Tower.

The sedulity of one Dr. Clarke,¹ a divine, in Northamptonshire, was so great in this business, that he bound one woman thither, I suppose to be a laundress to the rest, and if a constable had not holden his honour, would have beaten the refusers. He sent one man up for twopence, whom I saw.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, February 23, 1626-7.

The Scottish bishops and ministers are gone back with commission to proceed against recusant papists. On Wednesday, came out a proclamation here for papists or their friends to take leases of their two thirds of lands within three months, or others may. In Shropshire, Staffordshire, and Cheshire, all have readily yielded unto the general loan, though in Cheshire many subscribed not, but paid down their moneys, or promised to do so within a week; the papists, as aliens, being cessed double. The

¹ "He is archdeacon of Derby."—*Note of Mr. Mead.*

Earl of Bristol continues still amending, but is weak in his legs, and in a course of physic.

Extract from another letter from London, of the same date.

The consultations now here are for relieving the King of Denmark, who hath lately lost 500 horse more in 1000 defeated. Sir John Barlacy came to London yesterday morning to fetch 4,500 men, which are to be pressed for that king, and to be joined with those 6000 in the Low Countries, formerly spoken of, and now ready for his service upon the beating of the first drum. This is from the best intelligence; but, alas! where is the money? The loan being expended as fast as it come into the exchequer.

The Lord Fielding is lately come from France, who says they prepare mainly against us, and it is generally believed that the Spaniard doth in like manner.

Extract from another letter from London, of the same date.

On Saturday last, the new commissioners for the navy, otherwise called the Council of the Sea, made a report to his majesty and his privy council of their proceedings hitherto. The Duke of Buckingham they appointed their spokesman, who, having summed the marrow and quint-essence consultations, drove mainly at this conclusion, namely, to persuade the king to employ his whole revenue of the subsidies of tonnage and poundage towards the present defence of the seas. His reason was, because it was given by the parliament to his majesty's predecessors for that end; for this year, he said, all the whole revenue must be expended that way, but hoped the year to come would require the disbursement but of half. This year, they would set out twenty tall ships for defence of the coast, and nine other such ships, to intercept the Lubeckers and Hamburgers coming forth of the Sound with provisions for the King of Spain; likewise would build some small vessels drawing little water, which might venture after a Dunkirker, over flats and shoals. In fine, he

besought his majesty to command my lord treasurer to make assignment of this part of his treasure to this end, which the king willingly granted, and the Earl of Totness¹ told me to-day, that order was taken accordingly.

I pray God our preparations come not abroad too late; for the Dunkirkers take good ships of ours every day, and were never so rife at sea as now. I am told, to-day, that Spinola is building at Bruges, in Flanders, some fifty ships of about eight score ton apiece; for every of which he is casting hard by the place six brass pieces.

Out of France, from Bordeaux, are newly come into the river forty sail of Scots and Flemings, through the whole squadron of whom a Dunkirker, but with eighteen pieces of ordnance, passed; and did much hurt enough of them; notwithstanding, they bore in all about one hundred pieces of ordnance among them, and had to waft them a Holland man-of-war, whom the Dunkirkers singled out of hand, and so beat him, that he was fain to run ashore. These last reports come from one Mr. Rosse, a Scottishman, who is a kind of agent between England and Dunkirk for redemption of prisoners.

At Bordeaux, I hear, the French king detained only twenty-five sail of our English ships, which he purposes to employ against Rochelle; the residue, with the merchants, being escaped away.

Sir John Corbet, on Wednesday last, received his censure, and was yesterday committed to the Gate House.

Sir Gilbert Jerret, high sheriff of Buckinghamshire, being called in question for not waiting on the duke, when he was at Aylesbury, is deferred till after the assizes, when he is to be ready at their lordship's sending for; notwithstanding he had formerly subscribed to the loan in Middlesex; and allegeth a fair excuse of his absence from the duke, to wit, that as he was coming towards Aylesbury, his coachman, falling suddenly out of the box, made him misdoubt the occasion thereof to be some contagious

¹ George Carew, who had been president of Munster, in Ireland, where he did great service in the latter end of Queen Elizabeth's reign. He was created Lord Carew, of Clopton, by King James I. (in the 3rd year of his reign), and Earl of Totness, by King Charles I., in 1625.

disease, and so thought it requisite to abstain coming into such company.

Sir John Jackson, of Yorkshire, is confined to his lodging, in St. Martin's Lane, for speaking some words against the loan. And one told me, that yesterday, in the afternoon, there went out warrants for the commitment of a dozen more.

George Catesby, of Northamptonshire, Esq., who was the last week committed to the Gate House, being demanded by the lords the reasons of his refusal to lend, alleged three. First was for that, my lord president, in his speech at Northampton, had raised many doubts and objections, like so many spirits, which he could not allay. The second was, because he heard his lordship affirm there, that the setting a-foot or practising of this loan was, *ipso facto*, a precedent; and every precedent a flower of the prerogative. My lord president told him he lied. His answer was, that was no fit place to contest with his lordship; he came not to contend, but to suffer. Then my Lord of Suffolk entreated my lord president, that he would not too far urge Mr. Catesby, his kinsman, but to permit that the payment of his money might purchase him his liberty. Whereunto Mr. Catesby answered, "Although your lordship be pleased to claim kindred of me, yet I will be master of mine own purse, and will not part with a penny." His third reason why he would not lend was, because there is a starting hole in the proclamation, whereby the king might evade his promises, that he will not make a precedent of this loan.

The recognizances of those Northamptonshire men, that departed lately without leave, are estreated.

Sir Thomas Saville, eldest son of Sir John Saville, the privy counsellor, hath got the office in the Custom House of Sir Philip Carey, deceased, being worth £800 a year.

On Friday, February 16, the Earl of Lincoln was ordered by all the lords and judges to swear to the interrogatories in that court,¹ not upon his honour, but upon the Evangelists, as an ordinary man, contrary to an order formerly assented to by King James in parliament.

¹ Of the Star Chamber.

The demurrer of the Earl of Bristol (whether he be to be questioned in the Star Chamber for misdemeanors committed by him in parliament, and not objected there) is to be referred to the two lord chief justices and judge Harvey.

My Lord of Holland, it was said, should have the monopoly of ribands for baronets, and knights bachelors, but no man shall be constrained to wear them; and that they shall, as the nobility, be free from arrest. But how true, time will tell.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, February 24, 1626-7.

The rhyme I should have sent you, being committed to a scholar's fickle memory, he dropped two verses by the way, only bringing their sense in prose. But take them now, after a fuller copy.

Learned Coke and Montagu,
Grave Leigh and honest Crew;
Two preferred,¹ two set aside,²
Then starts up Sir Nicholas Hyde.

Yet there is a syllable wanting in the second³ verse, but I dare not correct the *magnificat*.

Our doctors (they may thank the Bishop of Durham) are to preach at court. Dr. Wren was wonderful ambitious of the first place. So that the bishop wrote that, whereas the warning was short, and the vice-chancellor⁴ full of business, having, besides, a speech to make, it might please him to be excused, and Dr. Wren to supply the place in his stead. Whereat not only the vice-chancellor, but some of the rest of the elder doctors, were so offended, that they said plainly, if Dr. Wren began, he should end

¹ Sir Henry Montagu, to be lord president of the council, and Sir John Jonas Leigh to be treasurer.

² Sir Edward Coke, and Sir Randolph Crew.

³ The two first verses are thus given in Sir Simonds D'Ewes's Manuscript, *Life written by Himself*, fol. 144.

Learned Coke, court Montagu,
The aged Leigh, and honest Crew.

⁴ Dr. Henry Smith, master of Magdalen College.

too; they meant not to follow him. And so now the vice-chancellor preaches to-morrow, and with him go our heads to do their homage to his majesty. As for Dr. Wren, either he shall not or will not have any course at all.

Mr. Pory to the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, March 2, 1626-7.

On Wednesday, besides Sir Nathaniel Barnardiston, were three clothiers committed, Suffolk men, whose imprisonment is of the more importance, because so many poor do get their living under him.

Here hath been a jealousy that the refractory lords should be called in question; and first of all my Lord of Lincoln; but he hath been in town this sennight, and remains yet unspent for. This afternoon, Sir Beauchamp St. John, and Sir River Luke, were both before the lords, as recusants of the loan, but how they sped is not yet known.

Here are some twenty-seven or twenty eight sail of ships going forth in the king's service, some for the coast of Spain, others to pass over the 3500 soldiers designed from hence to the King of Denmark, others to guard the North Sea fishermen; and the residue to lie at the Belt, on this side the Sound of Denmark, to intercept such Lubeckers and Hamburgers as carry provisions to the King of Spain.

Here is a project now in hand, to set out a fleet of 120 sail of men-of-war in one fleet; wherein my lord duke hath vowed to all the captains he will go himself, but some wise men do scarcely believe the one or the other. And yet it is so far gone, as there is a warrant sent to the officers of the ordnance, to furnish, out of the king's storehouse, so much ammunition as will furnish twenty of the king's ships and one hundred colliers and merchants. And because that in their custody is not so much found, as will serve the turn, Philipppo Burlemachi hath £14,000 out of the Exchequer, to procure one hundred lasts of

powder from beyond the seas; nothing, they say, so good, as might have been provided here by Mr. Evelyn¹ for £8000.

Here is a speech, that there shall three barons be created; young Craven,² because he is to marry Mrs. Ashburnham, Sir Thomas Richardson's wife's son's daughter; as also young Cockayne; and a Shirley, of Leicestershire.

Mr. Walter Montagu, as folks say, is immediately to go to the Duke of Savoy, for which he hath £400 impressed out of the Exchequer.

Extract from another letter from London, of the same date.

The speech of divers great commissioners to go over about a treaty of peace still holds; and Sir George Calvert Lord Baltimore sent for out of Ireland for that service is now come, and on Tuesday rode with the duke's grace toward the court. It is said, Mr. Craven's patent to be a baron and viscount for £16,000 is engrossing, and speech that Mr. Cockayne is also to be a baron. The knights of the garter, as an addition of honour, wear on the left shoulder of their cloaks a silver starry cross embroidered.

Sir Dudley Digges, who was imprisoned for some speeches before the Lords, when he was sent for by them upon a wrongful information to have refused the loan, is now set at liberty out of the Fleet, whence, at his going out, he bestowed £30 to free debtors, poor men, who were in for small sums, or only for the fees. By whose example, others of the gentlemen imprisoned for the refusal of the loan, have resolved to do the like in their several prisons, at their going out. But when that will be is uncertain, some being still newly imprisoned, and others sent for.

It is written, from near Lincoln, February 27, that they expected that day should have been their commission day for the loan; but they were deferred a week longer, and given to understand of four privy counsellors then to come amongst them to further the business.

¹ George Evelyn, Esq., of Long Ditton, near Kingston; the grandfather of the celebrated John Evelyn. He was a great manufacturer of gunpowder.

² William Craven, son of Sir William Craven, Knt., Lord Mayor of London, in 1611.

That an accident of evil tidings to the Earl of Lincoln is lately happened, concerning letters dispersed among the freeholders, by a servant of his now discovered, and sent for by a pursuivant, and like to prove a case of doubtful issue. Many of the letters were inscribed, *To all true-hearted Englishmen.*

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, March 3, about ten o'clock, 1626-7.

The duke is coming to our town, which puts us all into a commotion. The bells ring, the posts wind their horns in every street. Every man puts on his cap and hood, ready for the congregation, whither they suppose his grace will come. He dines, they say, at Trinity College, shall have a banquet at Clare Hall. I am afraid somebody will scarce worship any other God, as long as he is in town. For mine own part, I am not like to stir, but hope to hear all, when they come home.

I send you our last, together with the King of Denmark's letter to our duke, wherein is no great matter, and was dated before Christmas: yet curiosity will desire satisfaction, if but in trifles.

Sir Dudley Digges was set at liberty on Saturday, say those who came from London.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, March 9, 1626-7.

The queen, yesterday morning, went to Theobalds, where the king bestowed a dinner upon her, in requital whereof her majesty gave him a supper at Denmark House, where his majesty lay all night; from whence, this afternoon, he is returned to Theobalds till Monday.

This afternoon, the aldermen of this town presented themselves before the Lords to demand the re-payment of their £60,000, this last month, which they had long since lent to his majesty.

There are now almost ready to go for the relief of Rochelle, four of his majesty's [ships], and some sixteen others,

which do transport 3500 land soldiers, to be commanded by Sir John Barrow. And in these four ships are four of the best seamen in England, as namely, Sir John Watts, Captain Best, Captain Gifford, &c. The last of the Straits ships is come home single. She was much doubted, being worth £150,000. Her name, the Sampson.

Mr. Craven, since he was made a graduate at the University, hath taken the degree of Baron of Hampstead,¹ for which and his wardship he payeth £16,000, and is to marry Mrs. Ashburnham, one of the queen's maids, and daughter-in-law of Sir Thomas Richardson.

Mr. Rosse, a Scottishman, agent for the redemption of English and Scottish captains from Dunkirk, &c., after eighteen weeks following the council-table, hath at length obtained his suit; and his commission will be either to ransom all on both sides or none, there being three hundred of the king's subjects there most slavishly used at this time.

Still more gentlemen are bound over for their appearance before the Lords, especially many justices of peace in Gloucestershire. Twenty gentlemen and knights refusers petitioned the Lords, on Wednesday, to have a hearing.

The Bishop of Lincoln, Dean of Westminster, is forbidden to preach his turn at Whitehall, and is therefore gone back into Lincolnshire.

The Persian ambassador is going away, and Sir Robert Shirley goes with him, though not in the same bottom. Sir Francis Nethersole is, I hear, come as an agent or messenger from the Queen of Bohemia.

A copy of a letter let fall in Mr. Ashburne's shop, of Norwich, on Wednesday, March 7, during the Assizes there, by one, as is supposed, that bought some wares in the said shop.

March 1, 1627.

“ Good Cosen,—As before, so now, I desire you to make all haste to put off all things, and get that the money that possibly you may, and repair to the place of

¹ Hampsted Marshal, in the county of Berks, by letters patent, dated 12th March, 1626-7.

health and deliverance, before May be much entered into: for, before the end of that month, there will be such a work wrought in England, as never was the like, which will be for our goods. All things are now almost ripe; therefore, make haste, for it is better to be there sooner than to stay too long. Things may be effected sooner than we look for. We had letters from my Lord's Grace. I have no more time for haste; provide for yourself and your friends, but be very secret, lest it be known. All things are ready. Send for him at Yarmouth to come; for there we think to begin or near. I say no more, but haste.

"Your true friend."

It was taken up, unsealed, and carried unto the judges, and by many judged to be but a counterfeit, scattered of purpose. Howsoever, it is a novelty, and symptoms of the time.¹

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, March 16, 1626-7.

Our chancellor, on Saturday, sat in the Regent House, in a master of art's gown, habit, cap, and hood, spoke two words of latin, *placet* and *admittatur*. Bishop Laud was incorporated, the Earl of Denbigh, Lord Imbercourt, Lord Rochfort (*Miles de Mattá*), Mr. Edw. Somerset, nephew to the Earl of Worcester, Mr. Craven, and Mr. Walter Montagu, were made masters of arts, though I think my Lord Imbercourt needed no more but to be incorporated. His Grace dined at Trinity College, had banquets at divers colleges, King's, St. John's, Clare Hall, &c. He was on the top of King's College Chapel, but refused to have his foot imprinted there, as too high for him. He was wonderful courteous to all scholars of any condition, both in the Regent House, where every one that came in had his grace's *congé*; and in the town, as he walked, if a man did but stir his hat, he should not lose his labour. He professed himself our humble servant,

¹ There were many such symptoms of the time, but neither sovereign nor favourite chose to notice them.

that coming down to do his duty to his master, he could but come to do his service to us; but he could not stay long, because the watch stood still till he returned to wind it up; and so he went back that night. Dr. Paske, out of his familiarity, must needs carry him to see a new library they are building at Clare Hall, notwithstanding it was not yet furnished with books; but, by good chance, being an open room, two women were gotten thither to see his grace out at the windows, but, when the duke came thither, were unexpectedly surprised.

“Mr. Doctor,” quoth the duke, when he saw them, “you have here a fair library; but here are two books not very well bound.”

I think I have told you enough.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, March 16, 1626-7.

It still holds, that both France and Spain make exceeding great preparations both for sea and land. The Dunkirkers are said to have taken of English, Scottish, and Dutch, above fifty sail within these three or four weeks, and use insolently and barbarously such as they take. And their priests, to encourage them, are said to preach, that God hath delivered us unto their hands. Witness so many prizes brought in thither with a little or no resistance. But, if it would please God at length to prosper what we undertake, we might, ere long, cry them quit, there being four of the king's ships, and sixteen others, preparing to go out presently, partly to secure the narrow seas, partly to relieve Rochelle, amongst which goes Sir John Barrow, commander of the land forces.

On Monday, at Chelmsford, in Essex, came, as is said, unto the judges there, some hundreds of poor people, to beseech them to move his majesty for the release of their workmasters imprisoned, without which they must starve; which, they said, they would not do, what course soever they took; whereof, as I hear, the judges presently gave advertisement unto the state.

The duke's son is most dangerously sick, being both in

a burning fever, and nothing growing or nourishing on him but his head, which makes a sorrowful house there; and the duke, yesterday, not to be spoken with in regard thereof, though upon urgent business.

On the Friday night, or Saturday morning, died the good Countess of Derby, mother to the Lord Strange, and was buried on Sunday, by night, at Westminster. It is said, of grief she took for Sir Robert Stanley, her second son's marriage, killed her; yet she saw both him and his lady before her death, prayed God to forgive them, and left unto him £400 land per annum. She hath preserved that earldom, and left it £7000 per annum, notwithstanding the earl had sold more than £10,000 yearly revenue.

The Earl of Warwick's pinnace hath brought into Scilly a Portugal prize, come from Brazil, estimated worth £10,000, if she may now come safe from the Dunkirkers.

On Tuesday, the queen went by water to Blackwall, and there dined aboard the Earl of Warwick's fair ship called the Neptune; went thence by water to Greenwich, thence came on horseback to and through London; the earl attending her majesty to Somerset House, forty or fifty riding before bareheaded, save her four priests with black caps; herself and ladies in little black beaver hats, and masked; but her majesty had a fair white feather in her hat.

Extract from another letter from London, of the same date.

Though but few or none yet know of it, I can assure you, there is in agitation a royal visitation among the clergy, which will strike as deep as the loan of five subsidies doth with the laity; and it is very likely to proceed; the particulars whereof, with the projectors, you shall know hereafter.

Essex men, about Chelmsford and Colchester, refuse either to pay the loan, or to be pressed for soldiers.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, March 17, 1626-7.

Since I received this enclosed, I hear, and it is true, that the Earl of Lincoln¹ is committed to the Tower. He desired to know his charge and accusers, but obtained no more at that time than this general, that he had showed himself an enemy to the king's proceedings, and done harm to others, both by his example and speeches.

They say, also, that my Earl of Bolingbroke and my Lord Say are sent for.

There is a press in Essex for the King of Denmark, and upon such as pay not the loan; but they all refuse to take press-money, and the lieutenants and justices have had one or two meetings about it at Chelmsford. In the first meeting, they could persuade nothing. What they have done in the second, I hear not.

On Thursday was sennight, a servant of my Lord Maynard's kitchen, going to Dunmow, some mile and a half from his lordship's, upon an errand, espied, just in his way, a fair white paper, sealed and hung by a thread upon the twig of a bush, which, taking down, he desired a tradesman of Dunmow, to whom he was sent, to open and see what was in it, which he did, and found the enclosing paper a mere blank, but within two letters sealed and directed, *To the Hon. the Lord Maynard with all possible speed.* He meddled no further, but bade the fellow carry them to his lord, which he did; but what they were the country listens, but knows not. My author, a minister of Essex, had it from his own mouth, who sealed the blank. This scattering of letters is grown rife in divers parts, and they are but ill symptoms.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, March 24, 1626-7.

The duke's son, the Earl of Coventry, is dead and buried in King Henry the Seventh's Chapel, near to King James.

¹ Theophilus, 4th Earl.

The sailors are again busy at London, and threaten to pull down York House, unless they have their pay.

Here hath been a press of three score and ten out of the shire; and other shires, as Leicester, there have marched through this town.

On Friday, last week, I hear, but as a secret, that it was debated at the council-table till seven o'clock whether our Essex men who refuse to take press-money should not be punished by martial law, and hanged up on the next tree to their dwellings for an example and terror to others.¹ My lord keeper, who had been long silent, when, in conclusion, it came to his course to speak, told the Lords, that, as far as he understood the law, none were liable to martial law but martial men. If these had taken press-money, and afterwards ran from their colours, they might then be punished in that manner; but yet they were no soldiers, and refused to be. Secondly, he thought a subsidy new by law could not be pressed against his will for a foreign service; it being supposed in law, the service of his purse excused that of his person, unless his own country were in danger, and appealed to my lord treasurer and my lord president whether it were not so, who both assented it was so, though some of them faintly, as unwilling to have been urged to such an answer. So, it is thought, that proposition is dashed, and it will be tried what may be done in the Star Chamber against these refractories. There are many Lincolnshire gentlemen gone up for recusancy of this loan. I hear some ten of the commissioners refused. One, come from London yesterday, tells, there were some sixty Lincolnshire men newly come up. I hear of seventeen gentlemen before.

We talk here of a magnificent library, which our great chancellor will build, and bestow no less towards it than £7000 presently. All the houses between Caius College and St. Mary's must be pulled down to make room: I wish he might never do worse deed; but I doubt—I doubt.

¹ This shows how despotic the despotism of the crown was becoming.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, March 30, 1627.

Yesterday, the Lords were at Guildhall, where the aldermen subscribed¹ to the loan. The rest shall be called according to their several wards.

Here are great preparations for war, both by land and sea; soldiers from all shires marching to the aid of the King of Denmark; and another fleet with some thousands of soldiers ready to put to sea for the aid of Rochelle. We have many scaling-ladders here made, and a multitude of fir-poles hardened at the end in the fire. Besides, it is said, the Lord Mountjoy goes over for six hundred horse. But the Dunkirkers still do a world of mischief to us, and grow rich with our spoils. The Earl of Warwick hath in readiness some six ships of his own, and means to go with them in person, if his sick lady hinder not, who is much discontented thereat.

It is said again the duke intends to go to sea, though his duchess and mother have been both upon their knees to dissuade him; and that of late he hath professed to the council, that howsoever heretofore, for her majesty's sake, he hath been a favourer of the papists, yet hereafter she shall not sway him, but that he will spend his strength in the advancement both of religion and state.

The Lord Conway shall be made an Irish Viscount of Killulta by reason of great lands befallen him by the death of Sir Fulk Conway, his brother, issueless. It was rumoured he should be lord deputy or viceroy of Ireland, and the Lord Carleton be in his place of secretary; but now it appears to be otherwise, Viscount Falkland, as is said, being lately confirmed in his place for three years more.

The device for the ribands is for awhile at a stand, although many medals are prepared; and so is the patent for the king's sole exchanger.

It is said my lord keeper hath brought to pass two fair marriages, one for his eldest son, another for his daughter. His son to marry Alderman Craven's daughter,² and his

¹ " Yet some refused to subscribe, but not to pay down, as I am since told."—*Note of Mr. Mead.*

² " That of his son with Alderman Craven's daughter is consummate with £27,000,

daughter to be married to Alderman Craven's son, who was lately made a baron for £16,000, with condition to marry some kinswoman of the duke's; but he is unwilling to keep that condition; and for it, it is thought my lord keeper will go near to be made quit his place.

The Lady Bruce,¹ niece to the Countess of Bedford, is dead.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, March 31, 1627.

Some have a conceit there may be some alteration before Midsummer, and seem privy to the grounds thereof, and especially since the king is said to be secretly inquisitive of late concerning the duke's actions, and the state of the affairs of his kingdom. Besides, his majesty, (this is a secret) it is thought, will be informed by a great prince, of that his own subjects dare not tell him; and to that purpose is furnished from our own with almost every particular, not so much but with speeches and home behaviours. I know of this by a strange accident, which a causeless fear occasioned in some whom it concerned. I named no persons because of some trust reposed in me; and desire you would keep this wholly to yourself, though I think the other side of the sea doth by this time secure them, being no less than agents for kings and for a king, too, nothing depending of us.

Our Mr. Mayor (I dining with him on Wednesday) told me another business tending to the former purpose; that the king, without the duke's knowledge, having written to the Chancellor of Scotland, concerning some service he would have him do there, the duke, as ignorant, wrote to him the same time, in the king's name, to another purpose, as to come presently to court about the old business; and that his majesty understanding thereof grew much discontented.

and they say £3000 more litigious, to make it up £30,000, if my lord keeper can do himself right. But that it should be a cross match, and Baron Craven marry the keeper's daughter, I hear no confirmation, and suppose it to be a mistake, or a mere conjecture."—*Note of Mr. Mead.*

¹ Anne, wife of Thomas Lord Bruce, and daughter of Sir Thomas Chichester, of Raleigh, in Devon, knight, by Anne, one of the daughters and co-heirs of John Lord Harrington, and sister of Lucy Countess of Bedford.

The London magistracy, I hear, hath yielded to the loan; whereupon, the citizens call the Guildhall the *yield all*.

Mr. John Beaulieu¹ to Sir Thomas Puckering,² Bart.

London, April 4, 1627.

Since the writing of my last, of the 23rd of March, the Lords of the Council have been at Guildhall to persuade the City to the contribution of the loan, as well as the rest of the kingdom, and the better to induce them thereinto, (because they know they would object, and allege their former great charges, both in sending money to the king, and providing the twenty ships, which they still keep on foot), these fair proffers were made unto them, that for their former loans, for which they had lands of their majesty's mortgaged unto them, if they in common, or any man in particular, would buy any of those lands, they should have so much defalked out of the price thereof, as their said loans came unto. And further, that for the general and common sort of the people, they should have likewise out of this present loan, if they would yield thereunto, their charges deducted that they had been at for the twenty ships, which are reckoned to amount to £180,000; so as his majesty, by this proffer, would reap of but small benefit for himself out of this contribution of the city, which is, in all, not expected to come to above £25,000. Nevertheless, the officers of the city that were called to Guildhall would not engage themselves to undertake or promise anything for the Commons, though, for themselves, they readily, and without any condition, yielded to the king's desire, only requesting the Lords they would

¹ John Beaulieu was secretary to Sir Thomas Edmondes, while ambassador at Brussels, and was, after his return, made clerk of the signet. He died about the beginning of 1634.

² Only surviving son to Sir John Puckering, lord keeper of the great seal. He received an excellent education, which was followed by several years of foreign travel in Flanders, France, Italy, and Spain. On his return to England, he entered parliament as member for Tamworth, was knighted in 1611, and obtained the dignity of a baronet in the following year; but he passed most of his time at his country residence, the Priory, Warwick, where, however, having established an extensive correspondence, he was duly informed of every important circumstance that transpired either at home or abroad. He subsequently removed to Chichester, where he soon afterwards died, on the 20th of March, 1637-8, at the age of forty-five.

move and be a means to his majesty, that, out of this payment, their several charges of the twenty ships might be defalked.

For the Commons, they are now deliberating in their halls about this business, and forthwith their answer will be known. Those of Yorkshire, as I hear, have now yielded throughout the shire.

One Mr. Dutton, of Gloucestershire, was lately before the Lords about a certain letter written to him from a minister of that shire, called, as I take it, Mr. Borden, to dissuade him and some other gentlemen, to whom he did write likewise to the same effect, from that contribution of the loan; being, as it is reported, some seditious rhetoric and inducements to that purpose, for which the said minister hath been clapped in prison, and Mr. Dutton committed also for not revealing that letter (as it seems the others did) which he said he had burned as an idle and foolish writing.

Here was a speech, because it was observed that much company did resort to the gentlemen that lie here in prison for refusing, that they should be transferred into several prisons of the country, to wit, those of the south into the north, and those of the north into the south, to sever them from their acquaintances; but hitherto that project hath not been put in execution.

The fleet of the thirty ships which is pretended for Rochelle is so forward, that by the end of the next week it is hoped it will be ready, and most of the 4000 men that are to go in it are already at the rendezvous at Portsmouth, some of them lagging yet behind for want of payment.

Out of France, we hear, that the king maketh all the haste he can to send his ships before Rochelle, and that there are ten or twelve at St. Malo ready to sail thither, besides those that are at Newhaven, Blaret, and other places. Yet we do not hear that the king himself doth as yet stir from Paris, and the King of Denmark's ambassador, who is lately come back from that court, reports that they have no mind but to come to an accommodation with England, wherein he would be willing himself for his

master's sake to become a mediator, and do some good offices. But I do not see there is any good interpretation made here of those proffers, since that we are still going on with the selling of the French goods, which must afford us the chief means for the making up our fleets.

Sir John Suckling,¹ the comptroller of his majesty's house, is lately dead; which place of his is not yet disposed of; but his comptrollership of the customs, which is reported to be worth six or seven hundred a-year, Mr. Maxwell, of the bed-chamber, hath gotten.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, April 6, 1627.

The Earl of Warwick had fallen down on Monday last, with his six or seven good ships of war, upon large letters of marque; but that one of them having sprung her main-mast, hath been fitting a new one, and, on Monday next, intends to fall down; though here be speeches new, as if his lordship's ships, together with all other ships in all the ports, are stayed. Our great fleet is still making ready to go to sea with some thousands of landmen.

His grace pursues to have those accusations in the Parliament to be brought this term against him by bill in the Star Chamber, to be there censured, if he deserves, and then perhaps pardoned.

The Earl of Bristol's demurrer to the king's attorney's bill against him in the Star Chamber is appointed to be argued to-morrow at Sergeant's Inn, before the judges.

Sir Thomas Love, who was the chief at sea in the Cadiz voyage, lies sick, and hath these five months and more, and now is given over by the physicians, having, after an ague and fever, the scurvy, dropsy, jaundice, and cough of the lungs.²

On Monday, our commissioners for the loan began to deal with the Commons; but I hear not of any great forwardness wrought therein. We hear not any more of

¹ Father of the poet.

² He died in Fenchurch parish, on the 12th of April, and was privately buried in the choir of the church the night following.

the Earl of Lincoln's coming to the Star Chamber; but he still remains close prisoner in the Tower.

Extract from another letter from London, of the same date.

The fleet preparing for new service, wherein report still holds that his grace will adventure in person, will not rise to the full number of thirty sail; but there shall be many pinks and small vessels for transportation.

The Earl of Warwick is ready to go to sea with four ships and two pinnaces. His commission hath martial law, liberty to give protection to such as he shall meet at sea to join with him, and so it is thought, being once at sea, like to have ships enough; freedom also from the admiral's tenth, paying the king only his customs. But, at this present, all the shipping in England is stayed, and his yet amongst the rest.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, April 7, 1627.

Our news is but small, our novellants being out of the way. Mr. Styles was on Tuesday or Wednesday to go to sea with the Earl of Warwick, Sir Francis Stewart, Mr. Walter Steward, &c., as I understand by a letter I received yesterday, of April 3, from Mr. B.,¹ who writes besides—

That the soldiers of Denmark were to depart the same week, with a convoy of one ship royal and four or five merchantmen of war, whereof Sir Samuel Trevor is admiral; and after their transportation to ride in the northward, toward Lubeck, &c., with that squadron, for six months. That Sir Henry Wotton² will be shortly in holy orders, having for that purpose leave of the king; which, because heretofore he hath been so oft and so long a public person, he was in duty to ask.

Dr. Bargrave's (the dean of Canterbury) sermon at the King's Anniversary Inauguration, March 27, is printed³

¹ Probably Mr. Boswell.

² This accomplished writer and diplomatist, having been elected provost of Eton College, found it necessary to enter the church.

³ At London, 1627. 4to.

by his majesty's special command. His text was, 1 Sam., xv. 23. Toward the conclusion, he imputeth rebellion to those who refuse this loan, and much urged obedience. Shall I transcribe you the passage?

“ I would there were none to tell us, that to obey the prince is to betray our country ; none who stamp it as a main brand upon the clergy, that they preach obedience.” —Another : “ It was the speech of a man renowned for wisdom in our age, that, if he were commanded to put forth to sea in a ship that had neither mast nor tackling, he would do it. And being asked what wisdom that were, replied, ‘ The wisdom must be in him that hath power to command, not in him that conscience binds to obey.’ ” — Another : “ O let us all take heed, that while we fly from idolatry we turn not into rebellion. Far be it from us to be found, with Israel, a disobedient and gainsaying people.”

In these passages you may see the reason, I think, why the sermon was commanded by the king to be printed.¹

Mr. Beaulieu to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, April 11, 1627.

What to write of a certainty unto you of our sea preparations, I do not know. The small fleet of thirty ships is going forward, and almost in readiness ; but the project and speech of the great one is not so warm now as it was the last week, and I hear all the effect thereof will prove that an addition of ten ships more to the number of the first fleet, to make it up forty. When it is under sail, we shall be able to say what company shall go in it, and whether my lord duke will so neglect his quality, as to go out with so small a train. This day all the land captains and officers are to repair to their several quarters. But my Lord of Warwick will be beforehand with them ; for yesterday he went away, to put to sea with his six ships and two pinnaces, whereof the Admiral is of 670 tons,

¹ The writer of this letter, though a clergyman, appears to have been not quite so perfect a courtier as Dean Bargrave.

and hath forty pieces of ordnance, his project and letters of marque being, as I hear, upon the Spaniards.

The sale of the French goods is going on, which Bur-lamachi had agreed with my lord treasurer to buy at a certain rate into his own hands, with an intent to deliver them up again to the French owners at the same price. But that bargain is misliked of, for that it would lessen, as it is conceived, the proceeds of the goods, which would be sold at an under value. Whereby, sir, you may perceive how far we are got from the way of an accommodation with France; although the King of Denmark's ambassador, who is lately come from thence, and is now upon his return towards his master, hath endeavoured to do some good offices therein, with the allowance, and at the desire (no question) of that state. But the exasperation is gone too far on this side, for the stay is made of the English ships at Bordeaux; beside, in our present need, we are loth to let such an opportunity go of righting ourselves for the part remaining behind of the queen's dower, and of otherwise helping our necessities. Besides, that his majesty findeth himself engaged to assist the Rochellers, and seeth no great cause to apprehend much the enmity of France, with whom it is conceived that he may at all times be received to make his peace. But because two were too many for Hercules at once to fight withal, therefore our chief desire and endeavour it seemeth is to make fair accommodation with Spain, and to that end it is supposed Mr. Montague is gone to the Duke of Savoy, as I have heretofore written unto you, and other means used to bring the same to pass.

But in the meanwhile we are growing into a new quarrel with our neighbours, the States, for their unrespective and dishonourable dealing with his majesty, who is especially offended with them, for that against their promise made to the late king, his father, to right him, and the English East India Company, against the judges of the Amboyna murder; and, namely, against one Coen, who was the chief author and actor thereof, and of many other injuries done to the English in those parts, both in their persons and goods, for the which the said Coen, who

was their German general for the Dutch in those Indies, had been, upon his majesty's complaint, sent for home into Holland—not only have they neglected to do justice upon those delinquents, and to give the English any satisfaction for their losses, as they ought by the treaty, but also they have lately sent back secretly the said Coen into the Indies, with as great or greater authority than he had before; which, as it showeth an ill mind, or an obstinate design, in the Dutch Company against the English, so here that action is taken so offensively by the State, that the Dutch ambassador hath been refused an audience, which they had demanded within these few days; who, on the other side, do make great complaints for the not restoring of the ships and goods of their countrymen, which have been taken and stayed here. So as I do not know how far these discontents may grow, and what advantage other neighbours may take thereof, to the prejudice of this state.

Concerning the loan demanded here of the city, there are very few willing to subscribe thereunto, and it hath hitherto been generally refused by the Commons; who, besides their plea and objection of the great charge, they have already bore more, they say, than any other part of the kingdom, do fear to make a precedent thereof against themselves.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, April 13, 1627.

The Earl of Warwick, with his five ships and two pinnaces, is ready to go to sea, if the wind turn west, which is now east. And the fleet for new service, it is thought, will be ready about a fortnight hence, wherein, it is confidently said, his grace goes admiral himself, his cabin, and the cabins of his attendants, being prepared in the ship. Sir John Watts goes captain, and my lord high chamberlain, the Earl of Lindsey, vice-admiral. The duke saith (as it is reported), that before Midsummer he will and shall be more honoured and beloved of the Commons than ever the Earl of Essex was. I know none, but could

wish he may perform such a service as might deserve it. Meanwhile it is muttered as if his grace were discontented with the Earl of Dorset, who hath been not well these six weeks, and with the Lord Conway, now Viscount Killalta.

The country soldiers that were billeted in our suburbs this week are all embarked to go to Stade, to the King of Denmark's aid; which some do unwillingly, as more than half of our English that served the States refused to do under Colonel Morgan, who is gone thence, but with 2200 men. I saw a letter from Holland, which saith that the Earl of Essex's company, consisting of 163, when they were come to the shipside, and their colours lodged, all save 40 refused to go. The country soldiers here kept great disorder, and were very insolent.

It is said the Bishops of Durham,¹ and Bath,² and Wells, are to be privy councillors.

The Earl of Bristol's demurrer was not argued before the judges on Saturday last, by reason one of them was not well; nor hear I of any other day appointed thereunto, though that day cost his lordship £20 to his counsel in needless fees.

Extract from another letter from London, of the same date.

The Earl of Warwick is gone to Southampton already, and to-morrow Sir Francis Steward, Mr. Walter Steward, and myself with them, propose to follow. We go to drive out discontents by seeking of dangers.

The great voyage by sea, wherein the Duke adventures his person, will be undertaken about one month hence; for which service the press hath been very round here in London, both for land and sea.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, April 20, 1627.

Our 2400 old English soldiers from the Low Countries, under Colonel Morgan, are safely arrived at Stade, to the aid of the King of Denmark, and 3000 Scots. Our Eng-

¹ Dr. Neile.

² Dr. Laud.

lish are to be made up hence, with 3600 men, to the full number of 6000; and unto the Scots, to be added 6000 more from Scotland.

This easterly wind still holds the Earl of Warwick's ships windbound at Woolwich; and when they have had a westerly wind to carry them into the Downs, they may there stay as long for an easterly wind again to carry them thence.

It still holds; the duke will with this new fleet to sea in the king's ship called the *Triumph*, whereof Sir John Watts is captain. Howsoever, few yet will believe it.

It seems the Lord Conway, Viscount Killalta, continues secretary; but is not well, and takes physic, as the Earl of Dorset hath also done these six or seven weeks.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, April 27, 1627.

Captain Pennington hath taken four great French ships, richly laden, valued at £100,000 at least, and brought them into the West Country, besides forty sail of small ships, which he surprised in a haven not far from Rochelle, into which he entered with the French colours, but presently changed his copy and let fly amongst them, so that happy were they that could first cut cables and begone; but they could not escape so, but that he took as many of them as he could man, away, and brought them with him.

The king hath given leave to our northern coasts to take what they can get, by way of prize, from the enemy, in lieu of the affronts and injuries which have been lately put upon them, to which purpose they prepare their principal ships; and coals will be dear. But all our talk almost is about the duke's voyage—many wagers *pro* and *con*. Great preparations for it, and a speech, that his mother and duchess have petitioned the king for his stay, with repulse.

Sir Allen Apsley, lieutenant of the Tower, goes out captain of one of the king's ships in the voyage, which some make an argument the duke is earnest: and some name the 7th of May for setting out.

My Lord Imbercourt,¹ whose lady² died suddenly the other day,³ is to go ambassador into Holland about the end of next week, as they say at the ship wherein he is to go.

Speech there is of a running army to be in the land, and that the king's standard shall be fetched out of the Tower, and the gentlemen, which refuse to pay the loan, to march after it, wherever it goes.

The Earl of Warwick was sennight in the morning set sail from Cowes Castle in the Isle of Wight, with three ships and a pinnace, viz., the great Neptune, the Jonathan, the Golden Cat, and the Flight, having left behind him at Southampton, not yet fully ready, the Little Neptune, and the bark Warwick; and in the Thames, by reason of contrary winds, the Hector and the Treasurer; his lordship intending when he had passed the Needles to ply it to and again between the English and French shores, till his four consorts do join with him: by which means, besides having many English ships from the Dunkirkers, he might meet with some ship of prize, as the news is now, that he hath done, if it prove true. On Tuesday was sennight my Lord Willoughby,⁴ son to the Earl of Lindsay, was married to the Countess of Holderness,⁵ one of the late Alderman Cokaigne's daughters, who bringeth him £10,000 in money, £900 a-year, £1000 a-year pension out of the exchequer, and a house very richly furnished.

Extract from another letter from London, of the same date.

St. George's feast was kept on Monday last, but not in that state and manner with attendants, as usually. For I hear there was not a livery coat nor feather amongst them; and besides, no small disorder in serving up the meat, much whereof was embezzled and taken away.

There are commissions granted to some particular men

¹ Carleton.

² Anne, daughter and co-heir of George Gerrard, Esq.: his lordship's first wife.

³ Wednesday sennight, April 18.

⁴ Montagu, afterwards Earl of Lindsey. He died at Campden House, near Kensington, 25th July, 1666, aged 58.

⁵ Martha, widow of John Ramsay Earl of Holderness. She died in 1641.

for the sole buying of lead, cloth, and other merchandize at the best hand, merchants and tradesmen to buy it of them only at their price. The citizens met a while ago at the Star Chamber about it, but did nothing at all; I hope it will have none effect. The Earl of Holland was likewise about to get a grant to have the exchange of all outlandish gold.

It is hoped the loan money will be well expended for the public good, for the officers about Whitehall cannot get one penny wages for three years past.¹

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, May 4, 1627.

It is true that Captain Pennington, with only four ships, one of them the king's, fought with a French fleet bound from Newhaven for Spain of sixteen sail, twelve of them merchants, and the other four men-of-war to convoy them. At the first came but one of the ships up, the rest being a long way off; yet this one set upon the French admiral: between them was a hot fight, and men lost on both sides, till Captain Pennington himself came up in the king's ship, and two other merchant men-of-war with him; which as soon as the four French men-of-war perceived, they presently fell off and fled away; our ships knowing there was no riches to be had in them, willingly suffering them to escape: but in the mean time took some three or four of the merchants' ships richly laden, and brought them. After this, he sailed with the king's ships and five or six other merchants into Conquet harbour,² where were many ships great and small. Some of which at his entering stranded themselves on the shore; many were despoiled of all their furniture, and seventeen at the least, some say thirty, he brought thence with him into the west country, and done many more, but that he wanted men to man them. Whether this will draw the French to a reconciliation, or exasperate them more, time will tell us.

¹ In this miserable state of things the royal attendants appear to have been no better off than the plundered people.

² By Brest, in Bretagne.

Last week were all letters taken, which were hence bound outward over sea, and brought back unto the Lords.

The last Sunday were the Bishops of Durham, and Bath and Wells, sworn of the council.

It seems the duke's grace intends really to go forth to sea in this voyage, and hath, as I hear, sent requesting warrants to his private friends to furnish him with about 200 horse and as many serviceable men, well apparelled and furnished with buffjackets, swords, daggers, cases of pistols, to be at Portsmouth without fail the 12th of this month. It is said the Earl of Dorset furnished four, Sir Anthony Ashley three, &c.

Meanwhile the old prisoners about the loan lie by, and on Monday last were divers others committed, as fifteen of Lincolnshire, and five of Norfolk.¹ Amongst them of Lincolnshire was one not come up, but against he comes, his prison is assigned, whither he is to go, and that is the mayor of Boston, who as that day was to surrender up his mayoralty.

On Wednesday was proclamation made, and printed, against bringing in of any goods into any port or creek of his majesty's dominions in any French bottoms, upon forfeiture of all the goods, until his majesty's pleasure should be otherwise published and made known to the contrary.

The Earl of Bristol hath been this week ill two or three days, but is now grown better. The arguing of his demurrer is appointed to be this afternoon before the judges at Serjeants' Inn, if it hold.

Extract from another letter from London, of the same date.

On Wednesday last a poor fellow, who had been some years since a groom to the Earl of Lincoln, was censured in the Star Chamber for scattering of those papers, which it seems the two fled gentlemen belonging to the same earl had written. He was fined by the judges £300, being not worth £5 in all the world, and imprisoned during the king's pleasure. When the Bishops' turn, who are newly made privy councillors, came to speak, he of Bath and Wells said, it being the first time of his sitting, he would not presume

¹ "Others say Yorkshire."—*Note of Mr. Mead.*

to say anything, which had not been said by those that spoke before him, but fully agreed to their censure; and that if they had set down a far heavier, he thought the offender deserved it. So said also the Bishop of Durham.¹

The Earl of Bedford² died on Wednesday, and was on Wednesday night privately buried at Cheney's. It is said the countess³ will not stay long after him.

There is now talk much more than ordinary of sending the refusing gentlemen far from their own dwellings, to be imprisoned in remote shires.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, May 11, 1627.

It holds still for the duke's going to sea, and that Soubise goes with him; which seems to strengthen their conceit, who guess the design to be for the Isle of St. Martin by Rochelle. Some of the ships are already fallen down, and it is said that his grace sets forward to Portsmouth about Thursday next, some say the Monday after; and that his majesty goes with him thither; but I think it no less uncertain *when*, than it is *thither* he goes, until it appears by the event. The last week was a great collier-ship pressed to be for his grace's living store of provision, and many carpenters at work making stalls for four fat oxen, two milch cows, two goats, and coops for poultry and fowl. His trumpeters go about to knights' and aldermen's houses to take their farewell and have something given them. His horses, which his friends send him, are come in, gallant ones, and bravely furnished. The provisions [warlike stores] which have been already made, and still are going out of the Tower, are strong and exceeding effective. The choicest and well nigh all the most sufficient men for command in the kingdom, as well as the most skilful at sea, are to be employed in this service; so that if it should miscarry (which God forbid) many are afraid the loss will be almost irrecoverable. It is said his

¹ The conduct of the bishops during the reigns of James I., Charles I. and II., exhibited a most discreditable subserviency.

² Edward, the third Earl of Bedford of the name of Russell.

³ Lucy, daughter of John Lord Harrington. She died May 26th, 1627.

grace makes a farewell supper to their majesties, and that to-morrow at night is a masque to be at York House.

The whole city of London the last week was not able to afford above two or three pistols, such as the horsemen are to carry at their saddles. Whereupon the Earl of Northumberland and other of the nobility were sent to for a supply, if it might be, out of their armouries. And it being at length understood that the Earl of Warwick had some six or seven score, his lady was to sell them for ready money; which she excusing and refusing to do, in regard of my lord's absence, the duke either sent or procured from his majesty a warrant to break open the door of his armoury, and to take them all out for the king's use; which was accordingly, about Thursday, last week, without paying for them.¹

The gentlemen in prison had petitioned to be removed this summer, and twenty of them had several places assigned them in the country; whereof some at papist's houses. But they had no mind to accept these and some other conditions, as to put in bonds to be true prisoners, &c., and so are like to stay where they are.

On Tuesday was some consultation at the court table about a parliament. Wednesday and Thursday the council sat long about one Mr. Seton, a Scottishman, who brought out of France a letter to the queen, and a message from the French king to his majesty only, by word of mouth, without any letter of credence, to know whither this fleet of ours was intended, whether for Spain, or some of the French coasts, or other where? Which, howsoever it be construed or answered, it is thought Seton will be laid by the heel, for coming upon such a message in such a manner, without giving the king some notice thereof beforehand, and is a great papist.

Sir Harry Wotton, now a clergyman, is like to be Dean of Canterbury, if not Bishop of Exeter, if he can bring off my Lord Wotton to match his daughter and only child with Lord Denbigh's son, and resolve him, whether in conscience he may not break a rash vow made to the contrary, when the motion was first propounded.

¹ The tyranny of the crown was daily assuming a more odious aspect.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, May 11, 1627.

The ministers of London, by the benefaction of Dr. White,¹ are to be founded into a college, or company, like to the other companies of the city, and to have a hall and all other officers, meetings, exercises, fitting their condition, &c. The Bishop of London is to be the president, and it shall be called *the College of Sion*. The patent is already sealed.

It is said the soldiers die apace, which are on shipboard by London, fifty in a day; and hoys go to fetch the dead corpses, and bury them at Stepney. They say the duke will have another masque before he goes, which will be chargeable. His friends feast him every day; and on Tuesday he feasted the queen at Chelsea.

Mr. Beaulieu to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, 16 May, 1627.

You heard, afore your going away, of Mr. Seton's arrival here, one of the *exempts des gardes* in the court of France, who, as I am credibly informed, brought letters to the king as well as to the queen; to what effect I know not, for so deep I could not dive. But, whatsoever it be, it seemeth, by the poor entertainment he hath had, as by the proceeding in our former course, that it hath wrought but little alteration in our resolutions; for he was rather checked and threatened than caressed, for his presuming (he being the king's subject and the king of France's servant) to come hither at this time, when things stand in such terms as they do between the two states; and the more because he is held to be very jesuitical in his affections. And well may he take time to buy the horses, which he makes the pretence of his journey; for I believe he will not be suffered to depart hence till our fleet be at sea, which by this time might have been ready to set out, but for the new

¹ Thomas White, D.D., born at Bristol, educated at Magdalen Hall, in Oxford, Vicar of St. Dunstan's, Fleet Street; made treasurer of the church of Salisbury in 1570; canon of Christ Church, Oxford, in 1591; and canon of Windsor in 1593. He died March 1, 1623 4.

levy which is making in all haste of 2000 men more, and, as some report, of 5000 archers with them, to join with the 4000 that are to go in this fleet; the rendezvous of which new levy is appointed on the 26th of this month, at Portsmouth, where his majesty intendeth to be himself; and I am even now told he will depart hence with my lord duke on Monday next for that journey.

I suppose that the 3000 which were shipped for the King of Denmark are now at or near the place of their landing, having had these three or four days a favourable wind, and fourteen men of war to waft them over, for fear of the Dunkirkers, whereof it was discovered that ten of them were looking to intercept them by the way.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, May 16, 1627.

The French king hath by a new edict made all Englishmen and English goods prize, and greatly fortifies and strengthens with men and arms all along the coast towards our seas, fearing our design to be for some maritime place of his country: which opinion here is accounted probable, both from the quality of the provisions and that Monsieur Soubise goes along with the fleet.

It is said that a Frenchman was taken on Saturday, going hence with divers papers and letters of intelligence, and a magic book. He offered £30 for his passage, which being of many refused, one notwithstanding accepted, taking half in hand, and to be paid the other moiety when he should land him; which he meant nothing less to perform, but gave presently intelligence of him, whereby he was apprehended. But with better fortune is one come hither this week with letters of much importance, who gave a shallop of £7 from Calais, to set him aboard upon any English ship or ground.

On Tuesday night last, the duke gave his farewell supper at York House, and a masque unto their majesties, wherein first comes forth the duke, after him Envy, with divers open-mouthed dogs' heads, representing the people's barking; next came Fame; then Truth, &c.

On Wednesday, his grace's horse here were mustered, and it was appointed, as rumoured, that himself, with the king, should as on Monday next set forward towards Portsmouth; though it was again said yesterday it was put off till Wednesday or Thursday, my lord duke and all his company having appointed their rendezvous at Portsmouth the 27th of this present.

The Lord Carleton is to go ambassador to the Hague, there to meet and treat with the French ambassador, by the mediation of the states.

Mr. Burton's¹ "Baiting of the Pope's Bull"² was yesterday called in, because the epistles were not licensed; but it is said some fifteen hundred more of Mr. Cosin's prayer-books, called "the Hour Prayers, or Devotion of the Church of England," are commanded to be printed, whereas at first there were but a hundred and fifty to be distributed for private use, but now, by the jealousies and rash censures of the people, will be made public, and perhaps in that respect offensive, howsoever the same or the like was twice printed for the use of private devotions by authority in the first years of Queen Elizabeth.

*Extract from a letter from Portsmouth, out of the
Warwick fleet of the 9th of May.*

Upon the 17th of May came the Hector to us, wherein Sir Michael Gore should have served as rear-admiral; but the seamen were so mutinously disposed, that before any captain's name was propounded to them, they swore desperately that they would not budge unless Sir Francis Stewart might be their commander. By which mutinous . . . we are forced out of the Jonathan, and the Hector must now be vice-admiral, wherein we have four pieces of ordnance more than we had in our former ship, and a better sailor; other men say, also a better ship. We are victualled for six months; and if our hopes shall deserve longer stay, we may draw it out to seven or eight months, and yet please the sailor very well. We still want three ships of our

¹ Henry Burton, M.A., Rector of St. Mathew's, Friday Street, and afterwards well known for his sufferings and his zeal for independency.

² Printed at London in 1627.

fleet—the little Neptune, bark Warwick, and the Robert. Nevertheless, we must away, and leave them to come after us; and I pray God they may find us at the high appointed, or come to us immediately.

The list of our Ships.

	Tons.	Men.
The Great Neptune	500	140
Hector	400	120
Jonathan	400	120
Cat	240	80
Little Neptune	140	60
Flight	80	30
Bark Warwick	60	25
Robert	70	26
Sum	1890	601

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, May 19, 1627.

The king hath sold the French prizes taken by Pennington to Burlamachi for £150,000, and yet with allowance for the forbearance of money, and for factorage, and a covenant, that if the proprietaries or owners will buy the goods, they shall have them at a certain and reasonable price. But I believe Captain Pennington's prizes will not amount to such a bargain, but that there are some other French prizes joined with them; for my author, a gentleman of London, told me, the number of them was seventy-two sail, which is more than Captain Pennington took.

The sons to the French merchants, whose goods these were, have in a fury mangled and almost slain many of our merchants' factors at Bourdeaux and elsewhere. And our gentlemen in those parts dare abide no longer, but get them some into Italy, some into Germany, as fast as they can.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, May 25, 1627.

Yesterday morning was muttered a stay of our fleet; but before night, a rumour, as if our design was discovered and prevented, and the governor of a place in France cast into prison, as conscious thereof, which we hope is untrue.

And likewise an ambassador is come to Dover from France or Savoy. But speech is, as if the Lord Carleton (who to-day is gone¹ towards the Hague to treat with the States and other ambassadors) should give him his answer to return back.

There is much ado about Mr. Burton's "Baiting of the Pope's Bull," at least the epistles and admonition after, which it is said Dr. Jeffrey saw not, and therefore could not license. Mr. Burton was on Tuesday attending on the Lords, but, because the council board was then thin, he was put off till yesterday; but how he sped we yet hear not.

There was lately in Ireland likely to have been granted to the papists there a toleration of religion, with many privileges, in consideration of a great sum of money. And this Easter term a great meeting was held of all the chiefest of the whole kingdom, with the archbishop and bishops,² where it was hardly hindered from being concluded, but for this worthy protestation following made before the lord deputy,³ in the name of all the archbishops and bishops of that kingdom, by Dr. Donnham,⁴ Bishop of Derry, who upon the 22nd of April preaching in Christ Church, in Dublin, before the lord deputy and the whole state, upon Luke i., verse 14, in the midst of his sermon he openly read this protestation, subscribed by the archbishops and bishops of that kingdom.

"The Judgment, by way of Protestation, of the archbishops and bishops of Ireland, concerning toleration of the Popish Religion. April 22.

"The religion of papists is superstitious and idolatrous.

"The faith and doctrine erroneous and heretical.

"Their church, in respect of both, apostatical.

"To give them, therefore, a toleration, or to consent that they may freely exercise their religion, and profess

¹ He is not gone, but stayed, though his coach was gone before, and cold meat sent to his barge for his ambassador's supper.—*Note of Mr. Mead.*

² See the life of Archbishop Usher by Dr. Parr, p. 28-30, prefixed to the archbishop's Letters.

³ Henry Carey, Lord Falkland.

⁴ George Donnham, son of William Donnham. Bishop of Chester, educated at Christ College, Cambridge, of which he was chosen fellow in 1585. He died at Londonderry, April 17, 1634.

their doctrine and faith, is a grievous sin, and that in two respects. 1st. It is to make ourselves necessary not only to the superstitions, idolatries, and heresies, and, in a word, to all the abomination of Popery, but also (which is a consequent to the former) to the perdition of the seduced people, who perish in the deluge of their Catholic apostacy. 2nd. To grant them any toleration in respect of any money to be given, or contribution to be made by them, is to set religion to sale, and with it the souls of the people, which our Saviour hath redeemed with his most precious blood.

“ And as it is a great sin, so it is a matter of most dangerous consequence; the consideration whereof we leave to the wise and judicious, beseeching the jealous God of truth to make those that are in authority zealous of his glory and the advancement of true religion, constantly resolute, and courageous against all Popery, superstition, and idolatry.

“ Amen.”

Having read this protestation, the bishop at the end added, “ And let all the people say Amen;” when suddenly the whole church almost shook with the sound of the Amens made by the people assembled. The lord deputy required from the bishop a copy both of this sermon and the protestation, to send them unto the king: whereunto the courageous bishop answered, that there was nothing he either spoke or read in the pulpit, but he would most willingly justify it before his majesty, and feared not who read or saw it.

It is said before this, that the Bishop of Derry, Dr. Hamilton, Archbishop of Cashel, a Scottishman, had preached also before the state, and averred in his sermon that whosoever gave that counsel for toleration of Popery was an errant traitor, and deserved Haman’s end.

Extract from another letter from London, of the same date.

The duke now goes to sea upon the 7th of June, as I am credibly informed; though others say the preremptory

day is June the 31st, which is not in our calendar. The project unknown, yea, it may be to the projector himself, because the design may yet alter, as it lately hath done. Howsoever, this good it may do, to hinder the Spaniard from attempting upon us; and therefore hoped when it goes it should not go all, seeing the chiefest strength both of serviceable men and ammunition is embarked with it. And my Lord Warwick is said to have sent word upon some intelligence that the Spanish navy still increaseth. Here was some report that my Lord of Essex¹ should go general in the Triumph; but it is thought improbable by others. The event will determine it.

Here is a great press both in and about London, so much, that on Monday last, in Middlesex, towards Harrow on the Hill, many were pressed in their beds, to the number of five hundred, and money levied to the sum of £3000, to set them out. And when they brought both together to the lords of the council, they took the money and dismissed the men, which was the only end of that press, because they were backward in the loan.

Mr. Beaulieu to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, 30 May, 1627.

The king's departure for Portsmouth, which from Monday to Thursday, and from Thursday had been put off on Monday last as to the last and certain days, is now become so uncertain for the time, as that many begin to doubt of the effect thereof—I mean, whether his majesty will go to that journey or no; especially considering that the progress is now resolved on, and the gifts already out, to begin on the 18th of the next month. So as unless his majesty do speedily set forward for the first journey, it will not be possible for him to perform it and keep his time for the other. Besides that, I hear it now reported

¹ Robert Devereux, third earl, who afterwards distinguished himself in the service of the parliament as a military commander: previously to which he had fulfilled several commands, and obtained some honours under the crown. He was twice married; but, leaving no issue, was the last Earl of Essex of his family. He died September 14, 1646.

that the troops are to remove by land to Plymouth, and embark there, which will require some time both for them and the ships before they can come to that place. What the cause of such alterations and delays may be I cannot penetrate. Some think that things are not yet in readiness; others, that the journey depends upon some expectation. True it is that here in the court there hath been a great and strong rumour of the coming of an extraordinary ambassador out of France; which the report first was should be the Maréchal de Coenores, and the Prince of Piedmont was in the way to mediate an accommodation between the two crowns. But as these things are very unlikely, so neither could I learn the ground of the report. Neither can I believe that any such occasion could alter the resolution of the design. Some say that the said maréchal is to go into Holland, and that the mistaking of the place was the cause of the rumour.

The Lord Carleton's departure for that place, which was likewise appointed to be on Monday last, is also put off for some days.

In the mean time there are now prizes daily made upon the French. One that had gotten a letter of marque, within three hours after he had set out of the Downs, met with a French ship of 250 tons, coming out of Spain, with another of less burden, took them both and brought them in. And many others have been likewise taken within the sleeve since the return of Captain Pennington. Sir John Apsley, lieutenant-governor of Dover Castle, hath also taken a Dunkirker, with 16 pieces of ordnance, that was coming out of Spain, although some rumour there is of convenience of trade agreed between England and those parts of Flanders, for a preparation to a peace with Spain, which it is thought that of the Abbot of Seaglia, the Duke of Savoy's ambassador, who from Paris repaired to Brussels, is negotiating there with the infanta: and it is supposed that Gerbier, my lord duke's man, who is newly despatched from hence, is gone over thither.

Mr. Hawkins, who was last at Paris for the affairs of this state, is newly come back, having been kindly used at his departure. His report is that they have a great desire

for a peace, and hitherto small preparations for a war. And yet by letters come this day from Guernsey it seemeth they are there in a great apprehension and alarm of some present undertaking upon those islands by the means of some great forces, which by their report are lying upon the coast of Normandy, there being three spies taken and clapped up in the Castle of Guernsey, that were come to discover the best access into those islands.

Madame the king's sister-in-law is brought to bed of a daughter, to the great joy of some, and discomfort of others.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, June 1, 1627.

We have had here these six weeks or more a restraint of going forth of any ships hence, either for merchandize, passengers, or posts with letters, till that on Wednesday the merchant adventurers got leave to depart with their cloth fleet, but were again yesterday with all other ships in the river stayed and pressed for the king's service by reason of a present conceived danger.

For on Wednesday, at six in the evening, came a post to court from Portsmouth without letter for haste, but as an eye-witness of a fleet discovered near the Isle of Wight, of about 70 sail of ships. At eight the same evening came a second post thence with letters of confirmation thereof, and that they were great ships, double-decked. And yesterday morning at six came the third post, with the like news. This sight hath put the country there about in great fear. And the duke hereupon at nine yesterday morning (though his grace on Monday was ill, and took a vomit) took post from Lambeth towards Dover, there to take order for the safety of that castle, and that the king's navy, which now lies most in the Downs, may do what may be against this fleet if it prove Spanish. But it is here rather supposed they should be Easterlings, save some sixteen or twenty sail, and they carried ammunition and other commodities into Spain, whom now the Spanish convoy back again, and, together

therewith, bring men and money, &c., for Dunkirk. Others fear some invasion to be intended, and the rather, because it is rumoured that in Picardy, not far from Calais, the French have many soldiers; and that Spinola is also with an army ready at Dunkirk. Howbeit, some guess if they be enemies, they are more likely for the present to intend the Danish Sound, which, if they once gain, they might not only assist the Pole against the Swede, but easily subdue us and the Low Countries, being thereby to be deprived of shipping materials, and the Low Countries also of bread-corn.

Here are yet more committed from the West Country to the Marshalsea about refusing to pay the loan. It should seem, as by other arguments, so by proposition, which our recusants on Thursday was three weeks had made to the council of war that, had not the clergy of Ireland, with courage beseeming their calling, stood against the toleration to have been granted to the papists there for finding of 5,000 foot and 500 horse perpetually for the defence of the country, we might have been here in danger of a like consultation upon a like offer of ours to find both ships and men to secure the narrow seas from the Dunkirkers, French, and all pirates. But old Sir John Saville herein played the man, both in nobly opposing it, and moving for a commission to proceed against recusants for their thirds due to his majesty by law, as that would amount to a far greater matter than the other would have done. Whereupon there is a commission granted to him and some others for the parts beyond the Trent, with Cheshire and Lancashire included, and hoped the like may for the south and south-west parts, which, if they went rightly on, would yield no small yearly supply unto his majesty.

Sir Thomas Brudenell's eldest son returning from travel out of France, was taken by the Dunkirkers; and though his father be a recusant papist, yet cannot be freed without the payment of £2,000 for ransom, besides for his diet, lodging, &c.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, June 2, 1627.

I will make that my beginning, which must be all our ends. The Countess of Bedford died at Sunday, at night, last, making an end of her life together with her means of living. All ships have been stayed these seven weeks or more, whereby there is at this present above 1,000 sail of ships in the river of Thames, very many of them tall ones and serviceable, such as in a week's space might be picked and rigged for sea out of them a navy of 100 sail, and, in a short time, as many more.

The lords of the council have of late used to seize upon the merchants' packets, and breaking them open both from and to their factors: whereupon they have given a general caveat to their factors to write nothing of intelligence; and by this means there is no more news of foreign affairs upon the exchange than there is upon your Lucyes.

Mr. Beaulieu to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, 6 June, 1627.

Although my hands at this time be full of business, yet I would not let this opportunity go without acquainting you with the passages of this last week, and certifying you of your letter, which came into my hands this day sennight, after mine was sent away.

The next following upon an advertisement sent hither from Guernsey that there was 4,000 men at the town of Coutance, which is near unto Jersey, and 7,000 at Newhaven, ready with boats and arms to set upon those islands, which they had by several advertisements from that coast of Normandy, and out of confession of three spies which they apprehended, there was present order taken for the sending of four ships of war for the guarding of the said islands. But the day following we had a greater alarm from Portsmouth of a Spanish fleet that was come to the Isle of Wight by an advertisement sent thereof to my lord steward, which made my lord duke take post the same day towards the Downs, and to embark himself the next morn-

ing in the ships that were already there for the expedition of the fleet to the number of twenty-three or twenty-four; with the which having an exceeding good wind, he made after the pretended Spaniards, whom he found to be Ham-burghers and Hollanders together, laden with salt; so as without any further exploit his grace took land again at Portsmouth, and came back to the court on Saturday night: upon whose arrival the resolution was taken for his majesty's departure on this day towards the said place of Portsmouth to see the embarking and setting forth of the said fleet, which hath been kept accordingly; the staff being sent afore on Monday last, and his majesty, together with my lord duke and the rest of the commanders, at this present upon their departure.

The last week, three French gentlemen of the [Protestant] religion, to wit, Monsieur de Savignac and his son (which were retired hither from being persecuted by the parliament of Bordeaux) and Monsieur de Boislerée, one of the king's servants, who hath lived here with his wife and children near twenty years, were committed to the Tower for certain words by them spoken, and letters written into France, which were intercepted at Dover, whereof I could not get time to learn any particulars.

Sir John Eliot and Mr. Coriton of Cornwall, together with a third man, whose name I have forgotten, were lately also committed for refusing the loan.

My Lord Carleton is departing this day for his journey into Holland.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, June 8, 1627.

The gentlemen recusants of the loan do now, upon the duke's departure, expect several warrants to disperse them into several climates, which they will, they say, thoroughly consider of before they obey. Meanwhile, Sir Harbottle Grimstone and Sir Edmund Hampden have the freedom to recreate themselves within seven miles of London round about, and Sir John Strangways to go whither he please for five weeks.

The king took his journey, on Wednesday, towards Portsmouth, with Mons. de Soubise in the coach with him, which makes all the world confident that the duke's design is for some part of France.

Yesterday was sennight, May 31, his grace, to encounter the supposed Spanish fleet, embarked himself at Dover; and the same day got both to the Isle of Wight and Portsmouth, and found to be English, Flemings, and Easterlings. On Saturday, by nine at night, he was back with the king at Whitehall, and so gained a reputation of diligence mixed with a fortunate passage. Besides, he brought some twenty-seven of the general fleet from the Downs to their proper rendezvous, and thereby both rendered his main journey so much the more expeditious. Plymouth is to be the second and last rendezvous; for the horses march by land thither, being about 150 horses and men to ride them, fully accomplished for the war by the duke and his friends.

This morning the duke solemnly took his leave of the rest of the lords at the Star Chamber, intending by tomorrow at night to be with his majesty at Portsmouth; who, at his return from thence, this next week, is purposed to visit the fortifications at Harwich and Landguard Fort.

Whereas, for these two years, there hath been a plantation of English upon St. Christopher's, and of the Antilles, as lesser islands at the entrance of the Bay of Mexico, my Lord of Carlisle hath obtained a grant from his majesty, under the great seal of England, to be lord paramount of that and some fifteen savage islands more (for so many there are thought worthy of names) and for that cause his lordship is by some stated Lord of the Caribes.

His lordship, under the same seal, hath a commission to discover and seize all the concealed lands in England. His search hath been at Wapping, upon the tenements of one Stepkin lately deceased, who left behind him eleven orphans, otherwise, save out of these tenements, unprovided for. His Lordship's claim is, that the said houses and ground have been purloined out of the king's waste, viz. the river of the Thames, which is the king's highway. The cause was now this term to come to trial; whereas,

on Wednesday last, by the providence of Almighty God, Father of the Fatherless, one of the tenants, digging accidentally in his cellar, found the *stub* of a huge oak, for which, searching further for the roots, he found them to be green, as if a living tree had grown upon them; an unanswerable and divine proof, that that ground was never part of the Thames.

There have been many fables dispersed concerning my Lord of Warwick. But the truth is, he set sail from Plymouth, the 10th of May, and hath not since been heard of, nor do his friends expect or desire to hear from him in a month longer.

Here is one, whose name is Fleet, newly come from Venice, who, being lately ransomed from the Indians, with whom he had long lived, till he had left his own language, reporteth, he hath often times been within sight of the South Sea, that he hath seen Indians besprinkle their paintings with powder of gold: that he had likewise seen rare precious stones among them, and plenty of black fox, which, of all others, is the richest fur.

Extract from another letter from London, of the same date.

On Monday last, was the king's storehouse at the Minories, without Aldgate, blown up, and no more hurt done, nor the timber burnt, nor fallen down, save the tiling, &c. Sir William Heyden, who dwells near it, lieutenant of the ordnance, an ingenious gentleman, had therein sundry sorts of fireworks; not certainly known whether it came accidentally or by practice.

On Monday, likewise, was here proclaimed, in five sheets of paper, that the Earl of Holland is, by patent, the king's exchanger for all coins, foreign and domestic, bullion, ingots, and plate, to be converted into new coin. Whereby all goldsmiths are undone, being forbidden to intermeddle therein, save only to buy old plate to be made into new. As also inhibiting, after the 24th of this month, in and about London, within three miles, and elsewhere, after the 29th of September, the offering or taking in payment any light gold, that wants anything at all above

the bare allowance, or taking anything for the exchange of gold or silver coin current above the true value.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, June 9, 1627.

The news we had on Saturday I send you; besides which, I have since heard his majesty went, about Tuesday last, to Portsmouth, and that the duke was to follow him on Thursday or yesterday.

That Sir John Eliot is committed to the Tower, but the cause is not known. That the Rainbow had newly sent in three rich prizes. That the great fleet, which came so near the Isle of Wight, proved a fleet of Easterlings; and so that fear is over; and somebody being chid for being afraid, as they say, the Lieutenant of the Tower for sending order to my Lord Mayor and his brethren, that the city should have their arms ready for their own and the kingdom's defence; which the lords of the council counter-ordered, informing them there was no cause of fear. Thus I am told.

The gentlemen in prison have no hope of relief, and themselves, some of them, begin to think so.

Mr. Beaulieu to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, June 13.

It was expected that my lord duke should have gone hence at the same time with the king, but somewhat stayed him behind, which it seemeth could not be so soon despatched, for it hath kept here to this day; and I think, as I hear, that his true *remove* hath been want of money. Neither am I sure whether he will go this day or tomorrow; but, when he cometh once to Portsmouth, I suppose he shall find all things in such readiness, as that he will presently put to sea; although I hear of a new warrant for the raising of 1000 men more for this fleet. But I suppose they are to be sent after, as the 2000 Irish were out of Ireland, for whose transportation there are eight ships appointed to repair unto that coast; and, for

the guarding of these, after those fleets are gone, there is order taken for the providing and setting out more men-of-war.

Those that wafted over the 3000 English to the King of Denmark, are come back, and report, at their coming away from the river of Elbe, there arrived there 2000 Scottish more out of that . . . , which are levied in Scotland for him.

Some skirmishes and encounters there have been of late between some of the said king's troops and those of Tilly's, which, by our report here, have had the worst in fights. But true it is, that Tilly's army is so strong, that he is in a manner master of the field, and hath taken the town of Brandenburg, and some other thereabouts. We hear, also, that the King of Swedeland hath been hurt with a shot in the belly near Dantzick, but, as the report goes, without danger.

Out of France, we hear that madame the king's sister-in-law is dead in child-bed; which will cause some alteration in that court, and dash many rising expectations, if the news prove true.

The queen's progress this year is intended to be at Wellingborough, where she purposeth to drink of those waters for her health.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, Friday, June 15, 1627.

The king, on Monday last, by the duke's order, was feasted on board the *Triumph* at Portsmouth by Sir John Watts, the captain, and was aboard every ship, great and small. It is said, his majesty sent to the duke to come thither speedily. Hereupon, coaches and horses being waylaid, his grace, with the Earl of Holland, &c., rode hence about nine on Wednesday morning, to be at Portsmouth that night at supper. It is said there is about £10,000 sent down, the most of it taken for French goods by candle, at Merchants' Taylors' Hall, therewith to pay the soldiers and mariners both their arrearages and two or three months aforehand, to encourage them the better.

Whatsoever be the design of this fleet, it is said the French king hath by a new edict in court of parliament confirmed to the Protestants all their former privileges, and the fort St. Louis at Rochelle to be demolished; though a ship some few days come from Rochelle to Portsmouth relates otherwise; that the town was in distress and misery. There are many forces drawn down into Picardy, upon pretence to defend Calais. Some feared invasion from us. But those who conceit our design to aim at Flanders and Dunkirk construe it far otherwise, but against probability seeing our breach is in earnest with the French and cannot be imagined a collusion.

There be some of this city committed about the loan; and speech still as if the gentlemen prisoners should be remitted into some places in the country to take the air. Nor are those, who are already out, discharged, but being ill are only permitted for a time to use the benefit of the bath or other means, and afterwards to return. The knights and gentlemen of the Gate House were said to have yesterday petitioned the Lords for more liberty, this summer; and my lord president¹ being their friend, it was granted they should be billeted in Middlesex in good air at the sheriffs' appointment. As the other lords, or most of them, which are refusers, are disofficed, so are also the Earl of Bolingbroke and the Earl of Kent put out of their lieutenants' places, and the Earl of Huntingdon suspended.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, Saturday, June 16, 1627.

The last Wednesday the duke set out from hence towards Portsmouth, where, they say, the king will take up his abode till he see him under sail, which it is thought will not be yet these fourteen days. His majesty is in continual action visiting the soldiers, and seeing them exercised sometimes at Portsmouth, sometimes at Winchester, sometimes at Southampton, and sometimes at the Isle of Wight, and sometimes at other places, and will not return, as they say, till the duke and fleet be gone.

¹ Henry Earl of Manchester.

My Lord Baltimore, lately known by the name of Sir George Calvert, is gone personally for Newfoundland, there to lay the ground of his plantation called Avallo, being on the south part of that island, in the latitude of 47°.

Sir Kenelm Digby¹ is going to sea with four ships, which are to consort with eight Hollanders, intending to get a commission, under the great seal, to take what he can get from the King of Spain, and the archduchess, and their subjects.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, June 16, 1627.

For the enclosed news, the first is Mr. Pory's,² who hath not written a long time; the latter letter is the doctor's.³

But the duke began not his journey till Wednesday, as my Lord Houghton told me, who came on Thursday night to my chamber with Sir Roger Townshend,⁴ who was going for Norfolk. My lord and Sir Roger have married two sisters Veres; my lord about Michaelmas, Sir Roger but lately; and his lady⁵ was in town with him. She is but a little one.

Mr. Pory to the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, June 22, 1627.

Here is lately arrived one Captain Harrison, who in war was employed in Sallee in Barbary, for redemption of the English captives there; for accomplishment whereof, according to his contract, he left there six armed pieces of

¹ A name sufficiently known to the historical reader: and if his family is less celebrated, it cannot be any fault of his, for Sir Kenelm caused the Digby genealogy to be compiled at an expense to himself of fourteen hundred pounds.

² Probably the first of the date of June 8, 1627.

³ Meddus.

⁴ Of Raynham, M.P. for Norfolk. Created a baronet, 16th April, 1617. He died, 1st January, 1637, at the age of 41. His son, Sir Horatio Townshend, for his valuable services to the royal cause during the Protectorate, was, by Charles II., on the 20th of April, 1661, raised to the peerage, by the title of Baron Townshend, of Lynne Regis; and, on the 11th of December, 1682, he was further advanced by the title of Viscount Townshend, of Raynham. Since then, the family name has become eminently historical, and its possessors have filled the highest offices in the army and in the state. The present representative has succeeded to the baronetcy, to four baronies—Ferrars, Compton, Townshend, and Lynne—to the viscounty—to the earldom of Leicester, and the marquise of Townshend: which honours have accumulated in the family since the death of Sir Roger.

⁵ Mary, second daughter of Horatio Lord Vere.

ordnance mounted upon field carriages, for the defence of that port, delivered him out of the Tower, which I myself saw, and reasoned with the Earl of Totness,¹ master of the ordnance, concerning the strangeness of such a contract. Well, he hath brought home all his countrymen, that were there to be found to the number of 110, and together with them an ambassador from Sallee, to proffer the subjection of that place unto his majesty. The inhabitants whereof be of those Moors that were banished out of Spain. The town belongs to Muley Zydan, King of Morocco; but they, having moulded themselves into a republic, do keep it from him by strong hand, and besides they stand in fear of the Spaniard.

This Captain Harrison told me, that a man-of-war of Holland about a month ago assured him, he had some four days before met my Lord of Warwick about the south cape of Spain. And for the Scottish news, we know it, *absque hoc*, to be a fable.

The king is expected here to-morrow, and the duke's departure to follow upon Tuesday or Wednesday.

Dr. Meddus to the Rev. Joseph Mead, from London, of the same date.

When his majesty was a second time feasted on board the *Triumph* at Portsmouth by the duke, the chest with the king's plate fell into the sea, and there lies, for the Dutch diver is said not to have found it.

The knights and gentlemen imprisoned about the loan are for taking of air removed into other counties, not into their own. Sir Francis Barrington hath liberty for all Surrey, where he will; but is in so deep a consumption (having sucked a woman's breast these five weeks) that he is not likely to remove far or live long, yet is gone out of the Marshalsea to a garden-house in Southwark. But our six citizens that were with pursuivants are removed into the Fleet and the Gate House, and there are many more appointed to attend the Lords.

¹ Sir George Carew, created Lord Carew by King James I., and Earl of Totness by King Charles I. He died 23rd March, 1629, aged 73.

Mr. Beaulieu to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, 20th June, 1627.

If our advertisements from Portsmouth prove true, all the army will be embarked this day, and will set sail on Friday next to depart. To-morrow the king is to be feasted by my lord duke aboard his ship, and expected to be back here on Saturday, having spent his time, while he hath been in those parts, in mustering of his army, viewing of his ships, visiting of Southampton and the Isle of Wight.

The next week his majesty will begin his progress, which will be shortened by the hovering journeys about London, intended by the first progress, because the time could not be kept, which was to begin on Monday last. But the queen, as I hear, will not stir for her journey to Wellingborough till the 4th of the next month.

Now, though this fleet be, as it were, under sail, yet I cannot, sir, but acquaint you with a strong report that hath gone about these two days to overthrow the belief of her departure upon this advertisement from Portsmouth, that there was a perfect atonement made between the King of France and those of Rochelle, whereby all the forts were to be pulled down, so as, the occasion of this undertaking being taken away, the fleet should not need now to stir from the coast, and that a book should be published to declare the truth and reasons thereof. But this is like to prove but a report, as many others do; which nevertheless we are content often to take current money in this scarcity of intelligence.

The last week here passed a man from the Duke of Rohan towards the court at Portsmouth, to hasten, as I hear, the departure of the fleet, which being so, doth import a plain contradiction to that said report.

The thousand men mentioned in my last to be levying anew are not intended for the service of this fleet, but for the reinforcing of the King of Denmark's troops.

Here we begin to proceed with the Londoners for the matter of the loans, as with the rest of the shires some of them having been clapped up for refusing. Of other parts here are yet above 150 gentlemen attending about this business.

Mr. Beaulieu to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, 27th June, 1627.

On Saturday last, at night, all the army, saving the horse, were embarked at Portsmouth, and on Sunday following, by noon, my lord duke himself, and all the rest of his company, who, having but scant wind, nevertheless would make use thereof, and weighed anchor presently to depart. But after he had sailed near three leagues, the wind turned so contrary, that he was forced to cast it again, and there to remain till this time, the wind remaining still very strong in that corner. This day the horse, which, I hear, do not exceed 110, are to be embarked at Southampton; both which, and all the foot forces, are reported to be in very good equipage, and very well trained up, and ready at their arms, especially the old Cadiz troops. Whereunto is to be added for a supply, a new levy, now resolved on, of three or four thousand more, besides the two thousand in Ireland, which are to follow after.

On Sunday, for the blessing of the journey, there were seven sermons preached on board seven several ships before their departure.

It is constantly believed, and openly divulged now, that the design is for France, but for what port thereof the execution must tell us.

On Friday the king departed from thence, and was here back on Saturday. This day he goeth to Nonsuch, from thence to Oatlands, and thence to Windsor; and the queen, who hath all this while kept in Somerset House, is to meet him on Saturday next at Oatlands, and on that day sevendnight their majesties intend to be here back, and meet again at Whitehall; then, on the Monday following, to go on their several great progresses, which the queen will be to Wellingborough.

Her majesty and all her court did put on mourning on Saturday last for madame her sister-in-law, who is very much lamented, both for her virtues and the hope she gave of a great issue, which now is begun and ended in a girl. This mourning is for three months in the queen's court.

Out of France we have no more news, by reason of this

present unkindness and action. Neither do we hear certainty of any preparation that they make against it. Captain Seton, who came some weeks since from thence, finding no safety being here for him, thought to have escaped away by the back door of Scotland, but there he hath been stayed and clapped up.

Concerning the three French prisoners in the Tower, and the causes of their commitment, I cannot hitherto learn any more than I have already signified unto you.

My Lord of Derby, or Sir Peter Osborne, his lieutenant of the castle of Guernsey, is shortly to be sent with ten ships for the guard of those islands, which are much threatened, and in danger of their neighbours. And Captain Pennington, as I hear, is sent with fifteen ships, to be set upon the fishermen of Newfoundland, who use to resort thither in great numbers every year.

In the great fleet, besides the main provision, there is one ship laden with living creatures, as cows, sheep, lambs, poultry, &c., and the brave apparel and furniture which my lord duke carrieth along with him, among which is his rich coach and his litter, and, as I hear, most of his jewels, doth set many brains at work.

The proceedings are going on here against the Londoners, for their refusing of the loan, there being, at the least, twelve of them committed for that occasion.

Out of Germany we hear, that the Prince of Poland hath been poisoned by the Jesuits, and that the king, his father, died a few days after.

The King of Swedeland is recovered of his hurt, and gone into the field. Of the King of Denmark we hear, that he hath very narrowly escaped the taking, and was beholden for it to a boat that he found by chance upon the river of Elbe; but how he was driven to that stress I do not clearly understand, which I hope I shall do against my next writing.

Mr. Pawlet, by Mons. de Soubise's procurement, is created Baron Pawlet, of Hinton St. George.

I hear that all the prisoners for the loan shall be transplanted into several prisons of the country, from their several dwellings and acquaintances.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, Saturday, June 30, 1627.

The subject of all people's discourse hath, at last, by his real setting of sail, frustrated their incredulity, and converted many men's curses into prayers. His men and horses he shipped with admirable celerity, and for three days together walked the round up and down Portsmouth to gather stragglers; cashiered one captain, whom he found drunk in town, after he had proclaimed all men aboard; and by a martial court condemned to be hanged a boatswain, who in his cups spoke to the disparagement of the voyage, but upon entreaty pardoned and dismissed him. On Sunday last, more seven sermons preached aboard the fleet. On Tuesday, at ten in the forenoon, his grace shipped himself for good and all; and upon Wednesday morning, at two o'clock, the wind came very fair, and at four the same morning the duke set sail.

That he is gone for some part of France all men are resolute, and to-day it is generally reported that he is bound for Rochelle; adding further, that there is a contract already made for the delivery of it into the hands of the English. Before his departure, he told the army, in as loud a voice as he could, that they should be of good courage: he would bring them where they should fight every man, and himself would be the headmost: he would bring them where enough was to be gotten, but not without blood.

His fleet consisted of five squadrons: his own, as admiral, of twenty-five sail; my Lord Lindsey, as vice-admiral of twenty sail; my Lord Harvey, rear-admiral of twenty; and Captain Pennington, of twelve—in all seventy-seven sail. But Captain Pennington, so soon as he hath landed the land-soldiers and horses put aboard him, is to set sail for the banks of Canada (a place near Newfoundland, where 150 sail of French do yearly fish), there to defeat the French and protect ours, as also to take both Portugals and Biscayans; which project of his, if it take kindly, will give the greatest blow to France they had at sea these hundred years, and will also much prejudice

Spain for want of that fish. The land forces now sent with the Duke are 6000 foot and 200 horse—some say 7000 foot; and more thousands are to be sent after them, as well out of England as out of Ireland. Howbeit many do wish the duke had confined himself within his own element, the ocean, a field large enough for his valour, to have acted to the utmost, and where he might have been somewhat confident to have been master of the field.

Forty captains, that wanted employment, are returned from Portsmouth to make a new levy, some say of 2000, some say of 3000, others of 5000. There are, besides, these sent over to the King of Denmark, 1400 men more.

The king, while he was at Portsmouth, was a curious observer of all things both at sea and land. In the regiments, by ranks and files, he numbered every man, and found out defective arms, as culivers instead of muskets, which he caused to be changed. All the ships of countenance he boarded in person, calling the pursers to him, and examining by the books what provisions they had aboard.

For the landmen, I hear they have only twenty-nine days' victuals; and for the seamen (Captain Pennington's squadron excepted), only four months' provision.

Besides all this, two of his majesty's ships are going forth to guard Guernsey and Jersey.

The French king, foreseeing a storm out of the north, sent into Holland to hire thirty sail of ships; but the answer of those States was, "True it is, they are servants to the crown of France, but more servants to the crown of England. They had their utmost endeavours to reconcile both kings; which, seeing they could not effect, they must stand neutral, and would neither let nor lend any ship to either, in the others' prejudice." Of nine sail of warlike ships, which they of Amsterdam had lately built for the French king, and being come into France, are upon trial found to be very weak built, and of small importance.

There hath been lately a falling out between the lord deputy of Ireland and Sir Adam Loftus,¹ lord chancellor

¹ One of the most distinguished lawyers of the Irish bar. He filled the post of lord chancellor of Ireland in 1619, and in 1622 was created Viscount Loftus, of Ely.

of that kingdom, insomuch that the lord deputy hath sequestered his great seal from him; whereupon the lord chancellor is now come over to complain.

This week were fourteen citizens committed about the loan, some to prisons, some to pursuivants; and on Thursday five gentlemen more, and the high sheriff of Gloucestershire, to several prisons. Mr. Knightly, of Northamptonshire, was yesterday threatened by their Lordships with seven years' imprisonment more, if he would not yield to pay the loan, but they found him as unmoveable as a rock.

The last Sunday a minister did penance at Paul's Cross, for having without licence, or asking the bans in a chapel, where he had neither cure nor charge, married, to his great disparagement, Sir Charles Howard,¹ Knt., son to the late Earl of Nottingham, being but seventeen years of age, to Arabella Smith,² a counsellor's daughter, without the consent of parents of either side, he having been tutor to the young knight. He is suspended from his ministry for three years, &c.

Sir John Saville, a privy councillor, out of sixpence per chaldron of coals, and one-third of the papists' lands, is setting forth six men of war, to guard the colliers against the Dunkirkers.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, July 6, 1627.

The news of the day, among our speculations in Paul's, are, that our English fleet rides at anchor before the Isle

Several members of this family held appointments in the Irish government. A namesake and kinsman of Sir Adam was a doctor of divinity of Trinity College, Cambridge, and, obtaining preferment in the Irish church, was raised to the see of Armagh in 1561. and to that of Dublin in 1567. His eldest son, Sir Dudley Loftus, was ancestor of Colonel Adam Loftus, created Viscount Lisburne in 1685, and of the Earls of Ely more recently marquises; and his fifth daughter, Anne, by her marriage with Sir Henry Colley, Knt., of Castle Carbery, was ancestor of the Duke of Wellington. George Colby Loftus, Esq., of Woolland House, Dorset, and William Francis Bentinck Loftus, of Kilbride, Wicklow, have the same origin.

¹ Son of Charles Earl of Nottingham, by Margaret, daughter of James Stewart, Earl of Murray, in Scotland. He was knighted 2nd of April, 1624; and on the death of his half-brother, Charles Earl of Nottingham, in October, 1642, succeeded to that title, and died 26th April, 1681.

² Edward Smith, of the Middle Temple, Esq.

of Retz,¹ or St. Martin's, by Rochelle. That the duke is admitted into the town with some few followers; but that the isle before mentioned is strengthened by the French king with 5000 foot and 2000 horse, besides so many pieces of ordnance, that the French king himself hath an army on foot, the Duke d'Espernon a second, and the Cardinal Richelieu a third. The flower of our soldiery, both for land and sea, are now there; and, if they return in vain, how vain shall we be esteemed? In the mean time, the danger of the Protestants there must be as great as that king's jealousy, by reason of the approach of our forces.

The French have of late created companies of traffic, as we and the Hollanders used to do; in one of which they have raised a stock of £150,000, and have built lately thirty-five sail of warlike ships. And, therefore, it is thought some part of our fleet may be employed to surprise what harbours they can of theirs.

Some of the ships arrested from us by the French, to the number of sixteen, are said to be gone towards Newfoundland, to destroy our fishermen there, who, some say, are well guarded of purpose.

Most of the French sailors here, that were taken in Conquest Road and other places, are employed by our English merchants to Greenland, Russia, and the Sound of Denmark.

Mr. Walter Montagu, on Sunday last, returned from his ambassage out of Savoy, by the way of Lorraine and Brussels, by means of the pass of the Duke of Savoy and the archduchess, obtained by the duke. He says, the archduchess is neither sick nor dead, as some here would make us believe. The scope of his negotiation we cannot penetrate into. It is *arcanum imperii*.

Sir John Hayward, doctor of the civil law. He that wrote the "History of Henry IV., the Three Norman Kings, and the Sanctuary of the Troubled Soul," &c., is lately dead, and that suddenly.²

¹ Rhé.

² Wednesday, June 27. 1627, at his house, in the parish of Great St. Bartholomew, London. *Wood's Fasti Oxon.*, vol. i. col. 203.

This mart from Francfort came the Epistles of Camera-rius, newly published, which are here prohibited to be sold.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, July 13, 1627.

For the duke and our fleet, we are now all at a muse what should become of them; for that which was at first so strongly conceited of an intendment for Rochelle, or some other part of France, is now as much resolved the contrary; and the rather, because three ships which arrived here from Rochelle this week affirm, that there was not there any expectation at all of our fleet, nor did they, in their course homeward, meet with, nor see, or hear of any one ship thereof.

My Lord Petre's son,¹ going over sea for Flanders, with many letters, and two barrels of treasure, gold and silver, in a pink, is brought back and committed; and here, it is said, that at his father's house, at Inglestone, in Essex, divers great papists had been in some consultation about a fortnight, and departed thence but on Saturday last. And, likewise, that both these and some others had taken houses and lodgings in and about Tonbridge, in Kent, and the edge of Sussex, upon pretence to drink of those medicinal waters for their health.

The queen began, yesterday, her progress to St. Albans. The king begins his from Theobalds, on Monday or Tuesday.

Mr. Beaulieu to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, July 18, 1627.

Of our fleet, we have yet no news at all; neither is there any certain conjecture of the place that they are fallen upon. In the mean time, we hear, out of France, that the Duke of Angoulême is gone towards Poitou, with an army of 34,000 foot, and 4000 horse, and twenty pieces of ordnance. Divers, that were suspected to have correspondence in England, have been clapped up in the

¹ Others add, my Lord Herbert's son also.

Bastille. The King of France is sick of a tertian ague, to whom the queen his sister hath Mr. Jermyn to visit him.

Her majesty, and the king her husband, are gone to the several progresses, which maketh this town very desolate.

The council's chief business now is to make answer to the complaints of the States' ambassador.

My Lord of Canterbury is confined, for refusing to license certain books and sermons.

My Lord Herbert and my Lord Petre's sons were taken, and brought back, as they were crossing the seas, with counterfeit passes, and some Jesuits in their company. They are committed to my Lord of London's company.

Mr. Montagu is come, or going back, into Savoy. At his coming, he took way by Brussels, where he was well used.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, July 21, 1627.

Colonel Gray should have gone with some command in the fleet, but refused, unless he might be colonel. Whereupon, the king commanded him to go with the duke as his counsellor. So his cabin was prepared in the duke's own ship, and the duke, for a while, made much of him, and used him with great respect. But at length, whatsoever the matter was, he was put into another ship. Will you hear what tale they have at London about this? viz., that the old countess,¹ solicitous to know what should become of her son, consulted Dr. Lambe,² who showed her, in a glass, a big, fat man, with a reddish face, brown beard, an iron arm, and a long dagger, &c., which she presently took to be Colonel Gray, the description in all things fitting him; and, therefore, suspected he should kill her son. Hereupon, she writes to the duke, and tells she had such a dream, which much troubled her, and therefore anxiously desires, that either Colonel Gray might

¹ Beckingham.

² Who was in June, the following year, 1628, murdered by the people in the City of London. He was the duke's chaplain, and a famous astrologer.

not go at all, or be removed into another ship, which was done accordingly.

Sir James Speuse is going ambassador to Sweden, and with him Sir Peter Young,¹ to carry the garter to that king.

The Bishop of Canterbury is confined to his house, near Canterbury, with leave to go to his see, but no farther. No other reason yet known but the king's pleasure.² My Lord Conway, Secretary Coke, Bishop Laud, the duke's agents, more eagerly persecuting his enemies in his absence than himself did at home. My lord treasurer so often answered the king's servants coming for their pensions, "What should I do, my lord duke took all the money in the Exchequer away with him," that it was taken ill at his hands. But that is all yet.

The king lies, on Wednesday night, at St. Albans, thence to Ampthill, where he stays three nights; thence into Buckinghamshire; on Monday come sennight to be at Woodstock, where the commissioners are to have audience; thence he goes into Hampshire, to Beaulieu. The queen is at Wellingborough.

Mr. Beaulieu to Sir Thomas Puchering, Bart.

London, July 25, 1627.

There are, as yet, no certain news come from our fleet, only from Plymouth; by the relation of a Hollander that came that way, we understand, that about the 10th of this month he saw some twenty ships sail thereof, near St. Martin, in the island of Rhé, and that presently after the rest of the fleet came thither also; and that he saw them, as he was coming away, shooting against the island; but further he could not report.

From Calais, there is another great rumour spread here, that they should have taken the island, and the Castle of Oleron, but with the loss of a great number of men, and, amongst them, Sir John Barrow, Sir Alexander

¹ He had been preceptor and almoner for the kingdom of Scotland to King James, and died January 7, 1627-8, in the 84th year of his age.

² See the Archbishop's own Narrative in *Rushworth*, vol. i. p. 434, *et seq.*

Brett, and other commanders. But the ground thereof being unknown, we can believe nothing of all those rumours, till we hear from the fleet itself; which it is a little wondered at that we have not done all this while, considering how good the wind hath stood for it. One of the ships of the fleet is come back, having forsook it in the middle of the sea, for discontentment, for the which they are like to be punished.

It is held for a certain information, that in the island of Rhé there are no less than 6000 foot, and 5000 horse, so as it will be no small work to conquer it, besides the strength of three forts that are on it.

And, notwithstanding this open show and practice of hostility, yet hath his majesty declared to some of his neighbours, that he hath no meaning to break the peace, or to come to a war with France, but only to right himself of the wrong that he had received from that state, though he hath not thought fit to suffer the agent, Du Moulin, to remain here any longer, but hath dismissed him, so that within a few days he is to depart.

The States' commissioner, Monsieur Catz, after many complaints and contestations with the Lords about the ships and goods taken upon their subjects, is also departed without any conclusion.

I make no doubt, sir, you long since have heard of the proclamation that came forth, a few days before my sickness,¹ to invite and summon the recusants to come, within two months, to compound for their several payments, with hope of favourable usage, according as was begun to proceed in the Northern parts of the realm. You have heard, also, how the Bishop of Lincoln, being come hither upon some pretended occasion, concerning his Deanery of Westminster, was commanded and forced upon a sudden to depart.

Concerning my lord archbishop, he is not only confined, as I signified by my last, but also suspended from the exercise of his place, which the Bishop of Bath and Wells, as I hear, shall execute by commission.

Most of the Londoners that are called before the Lords

¹ The writer had been suffering from severe indispotion.

about the matter of the loan do now yield and subscribe thereunto. And those that are here committed about that business, are to be carried away to-morrow or the next day, as was long since designed, to be transplanted and kept in several prisons in the country far from their dwellings and acquaintance.

Here is a great number of Scottish noblemen of the best rank, and amongst the rest the old Marquis of Huntley and his son, the Earls of Murray, Roxburgh, &c., come in commission from that state about the discontents which seem to grow greater and greater amongst them, about the business of the church livings, and some other things which their stomachs cannot digest. But they have not yet had audience with the king.

Here at this present two commissioners from the town of Sallee in Barbary, which hitherto hath been a very den of pirates, and hath done the English more harm than ever the Dunkirkers did, but now being reformed by the endeavours of the better part of them, which hath cast out the worst, and expelled all those pirates, desire to live orderly and in friendship with this State, which have been well received and are defrayed by the king, and the purpose of the State is to come to a treaty with them, and the rather, because they are professed enemies to the Spaniard.

Mr. Beaulieu to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

July, 1627.

After a long expectation and divers ominous reports made here of the ill success of our fleet, we have at length had the certainty thereof in a braver time by the coming of Sir William Becher and Captain Grimes, who brought the news of the taking of the Island of Rhé, near Rochelle, on the 14th of this month, though with the loss of many men and divers commanders, whereof herewith you shall receive the list. And it is strange to many that, notwithstanding the long warning and time that they had in France to take order against this apparent design, they had not better provided for those islands than it did now appear, for there was not above 1200 foot and 200 or 300 horse

abroad to hinder the landing of our men ; and there was 2000 of them landed by the favour of the cannon, that played from the ships afore they offered to resist or hinder them. But then did the horse set upon the English with such fury, as that they put them all in disorder and most of them to the route, and followed them so close, that they fled to save themselves into the sea, where great numbers of them were drowned, amongst the rest Sir William Heydon, who was violently carried away, as the report is, by the multitude. My lord duke was then coming from his ship to land, who, seeing them in that disorder, stood up on the head of his boat, and with his sword drawn in his hand, as he came to the shore, used such words to them, and gave them such encouragement, as he brought them back to their colours ; which Sir John Barrow and Sir Alexander Brett had kept still in the field. Then came the English ordnance, which had been brought to land, to play such reaks among the horse that they were forced to fly, having killed and torn 125 of them to pieces ; which was the cause of the victory. The French, as many as could, both of horse and foot, retired themselves into the forts, whereof two were taken, but the chief one, which is very strong and great, doth yet hold out with some 2000 men in it, and the governor thereof, as it is reported, hath the King of France's word, that, if he can be relieved within two months, he will keep it so long for him. Afterwards, my lord duke, who is commended to have carried himself very bravely and nobly in this action, possessed himself without any great resistance of the town of St. Martin, which is but a borough, and of three or four more villages that are in the island, out of one of which a minister came upon the points of capitulation, and entreated my lord duke that he would be favourable to the Roman Catholics ; for that, as this was his day, so they might have theirs at another time ; and as they should be used now, so should the Protestants receive then from them. Which was so much considered by his grace, that he would not enter the town that night, but lay in the field all night with two horses' forecloths under and two cloaks over him.

Amongst those French gentlemen that were killed, the common report is, that thirty of them were marquises, earls, and barons, for whose bodies my lord duke being offered money, namely, £1000 sterling for one of them, he nobly refused the money, and offered his own waggons to carry back the bodies, taking also a special care of such, as are hurt amongst his prisoners, whereof the whole number, either of those that are dead on both sides, is not yet come to my knowledge.

Monsieur de St. Blanquart, a brave young gentleman that was with Monsieur de Soubise, is generally much lamented for his valour and other extraordinary virtues, that were in him. He was the first that set foot on land, and that was the first killed. Monsieur de Soubise hath been divers times in Rochelle, where his mother and sister are, and some say my lord duke also, who hath his coach and litter there. But it seemeth they will not yet resolve to declare themselves, only they are content to help him with some victuals and provisions. And this is as much, sir, as I could hitherto gather of the relations that are here made of that action.

Now, for the benefit that the king may reap by that island, besides the two chief commodities thereof, wine and salt, which bring a good revenue, for it affordeth no less commonly than 15,000 or 16,000 tons of wine by the year, and salt to a greater value, it lieth in the way to intercept the salt that cometh from the Brouage, and serveth almost all France; and whatsoever cometh out of the river of Bourdeaux. Besides that it commandeth the haven of Rochelle, and being in his majesty's hands may secure that town from the danger, wherein it was.

There is a report come hither with these news, that Monsieur de Rohan is up in arms in Languedoc, which I think to be very likely, with a good number of men, being assisted, as it is said, by the Duke of Savoy. Other news we have none here, saving that the Prince of Orange is set before the town of Goole, and doth promise himself to carry it.

The prisoners for the loan are here yet, the warrants for the receiving of them into the country already sent to the

sheriffs, they refusing to depart of their good will from those prisons.

Sir Thomas Dishington, who was in Paris about some occasions, hath been clapped up there in the Bastille, in revenge, as it is thought, of the like proceeding used in Scotland against Captain Seton.

Before the fleet came to the island, they had ten or twelve Dunkirkers in chase a day and a night, that were coming out of Spain with 4000 men in them. But, as they had them almost within cannon shot, they were parted from them by a storm, which hath much endangered the fleet in that journey.

ENGLISH, SLAIN AND DROWNED:—

Sir William Heyden,	Captain Heatley,
Sir Thomas Yorke, quarter- master-general,	Two Powels, captains,
Sir Thomas Thernie, lieut.- colonel,	Monsieur de Blanquart,
Captain Babington,	Mr. Netherton,
Captain Clise,	Lieut. Sydenham,
Captain Goring,	Lieut. Ensigne,
Captain Blundell,	Lieut. Champernon,
Captain Courtney,	Lieut. Gordon,
Captain Woodhose, corporal of the field.	Mr. John Temple,
	Mr. Green,
	Mr. Gresham,
	Johnson, ensigner.

Of the French horse, 125 killed.

ENGLISH, HURT:—

Sir George Blundell,	Captain Rainsford,
Sir Charles Rich,	Lieut. Weltom,
Sir Edward Conway,	Lieut. Markham,
Sir Richard Greenfield,	Lieut. Barnet,
Sir Edward Halley,	Mr. Conway.
Captain Abraham,	

Mr. Beaulieu to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, August 15, 1627.

The two last letters that you had from me contained the relation of the first message that was brought from my

lord duke by Sir William Becher. Now within these two days there is a second messenger come to the king at Windsor with letters from his grace; but those letters, being written only five days after Sir William Becher's departure, impart no further advertisement than only of their continuation of their battering the fort, which, being very strong both of situation and men, is not like to be easily carried away, unless it be by some notable want within it, which, it seemeth, they are not without, and especially of water; for that thirty or forty of them, that were gone out in a troop, being taken by my Lord Mountjoy's horse, did confess that they were come out for water. This particular I hear my lord duke's letter hath, who besides doth write, that the Dukes of Rohan and Montmorency are joined together; and that the Duke of Savoy was upon the frontiers of Dauphiné with the Count of Soissons, coming down into that country with an army; and that the King of France lay very sick at Villeroy, without having as yet any notice given him of the taking of that island. But the messenger that brought the letters, having stayed there a seven night for the wind, as he reports, after the date thereof addeth further, that three French barks having offered by night to steal into the fort, to supply it with provision wherewith they were laden, two of them were taken, and the other sunk; and that those of the fort proffer to yield it so as they may go out with bag and baggage, which particulars I do not know how to give credit unto; and there was already 500 Frenchmen with Monsieur de Soubise in my lord duke's service. He saith, also, that his grace, having understood that Monsieur de Manty was preparing two great ships, and ten or twelve more of lesser burden in the port of Blavett, had sent some of his ships to stop the mouth of the said haven, to keep them from coming out. He reports, also, that one who was sent from the fort in a message to my lord duke was found with a poisoned knife about him, wherewith he did confess, upon promise of life, that he did intend to kill his lordship, who nevertheless kept his word with him, and did let him go free.

Here is all possible haste made for new provisions both

of men and victuals to supply the army; but want of money is a great remove to our endeavours.

I omitted in my last, sir, to inform you of my Lord Warwick's return from his unfortunate voyage, where, instead of the Brazilian fleet, which he had waited for two months about the islands, having met with the King of Spain's galleons, his ship was so beset and battered, that he had much ado to escape, and was forced presently to come home, leaving the rest of his fleet behind, saving one pinnace, that is come along with him. His vice-admiral, wherewith Sir Francis Steward is, he hath not seen, as I hear, since their departure out of England, neither doth know what is become of him. Nevertheless, he doth not give over, but doth intend to put to sea again, which I suppose he will scarce be able to do this year.

The proceeding is as warm here as ever against those that refuse, or have refused to pay the loan, which I hear are sent, or to be sent, for all out of their several counties, to answer it before the council. Some of those that were committed here have been carried to other prisons in the country; but others stand upon it not to go out of these prisons, until the king have paid their charges.

Here is an ambassador lately come from the Duke of Mantua, called Marquese Pompeo Strozzi, who had audience at Windsor on Sunday last; but what the subject of his coming is, I do not yet know. He came by Paris, where he stayed a month, and brought letters from the King of France to the queen, his sister. He is thought to be made an instrument by the emperor, to amuse us here.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, August 17, 1627.

On Monday evening last came a messenger hither, with news from the duke, confirmed the day after by a ship with maimed men (wherein the messenger came), that the fort of St. Martin was not then taken, when they came away, nor was it known when it would. That three barks came by night to have relieved it, but were all sunk and

taken, whereby perished about thirty French gentlemen, and some more taken prisoners. That a swain, attired like a gentleman, came from the fort as with a message from Thoyras, the governor, to the duke; who, by often changing of his countenance and colour, was suspected, and not admitted to his grace, but searched, and a poisoned knife found in one of his slashes; who, upon the paring of his nails into the flesh, confessed Thoyras had hired him to stab the duke, and, in case he failed, another beside ready to help him. That the duke hath sent for 500 men more, with victuals and ammunition; and that the French have put 5000 men into the opposite isle of Oleron, and there fortify.

Upon their Lordships sitting in serious consultation with his majesty on Thursday was sennight, being the 9th of this month (even to the interruption of the progress), was expected some extraordinary event, as an overture towards a Parliament, or the like. But it proved otherwise; for on Saturday, the 11th, their Lordships, sitting at Whitehall, resumed more eagerly than formerly their prosecution of those London recusants of the loan; and being weary, it seems, of proceeding *viritim*, they sent for the lord mayor and aldermen, given them charge to imprison the refractories.

On Tuesday, the 14th, my Lord of Warwick came to London, having the same day kissed the king's hand at Windsor. His Lordship goes no more to sea this summer, but sends out his ships to serve till they have spent out their victuals. He was never sick one hour at sea, and would as nimbly climb up to top and yard as any common mariner in the ship: and all the time of the fight was as active, and as open to danger, as any man there.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, August 18, 1627.

The Earl of Warwick, with some three or four ships, is returned, having escaped a great danger, by being over-matched by a fleet of Spaniards, with whom he had a sore fight, and yet broke through them, just as reported or

prophesied about Midsummer-time, and before, yet was not this fight till the 2nd of July. His two pinnaces never came at him the whole time he was at sea; and Sir Francis Steward, in the Hector, and another ship, came not to the fight, whom my lord afterwards saw pursued by the Spaniards, but with what event he knew not; yet hoped he escaped them, being so far before, and in a good sailer.

There are many ships now going to Virginia, and with them some fourteen or fifteen hundred children, which they have gathered up in divers places.

Mr. Beaulieu to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, August 21, 1627.

The same day that I sent away my last, of the 15th of this month, we had news here of the rendering of the fort St. Martin's into my lord duke's hands, which had been brought and delivered at Plymouth by a Dutchman, with such circumstances as made the tale very credible, and so it was believed by many. But since, hitherto, there is no confirmation thereof come from my lord duke, it is held to be a made tale given out by the Dutchman, either to delude our expectation, or to make himself welcome to that place.

Sir William Becher, the secretary of the army, is lately sent back thither, in company of 400 soldiers, which have been despatched away, while the greater supply of 2000 more, that are to be carried from hence to my Lord of Holland, is making ready, whose rendezvous is appointed at Plymouth on the 10th of the next month.

It is reported by the last messenger, of whom I made mention in my last, that the Duke of Angoulême was come with his army within a league, or half a league of the town of Rochelle, which had thereupon taken a great alarm, and desired my lord duke to send them such French as were come in the camp to Mons. de Soubise, for the reinforcing of the said town, which he did to the number of 500. We hope the next messenger will bring us the

true news of the yielding of the fort ; since they are, by constant report, in such want of water, as that they are forced to boil their meat in wine.

There are newly arrived two ambassadors from Denmark, to let us know (no question) and feel his distressed state, the way being now open to the enemy into the midst of his kingdom, unless he were better able to make opposition against them. But what comfort he is like to get from us, as we stand at this present, you may imagine. God alone must be his helper.

The queen is expected back here from Wellingborough on Thursday next, and the king on Saturday come sevensnight.

Mr. Beaulieu to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, August 29, 1627.

I am glad to understand by your letter, dated the 25th of this month, that you have received all mine, and, namely, those that I wrote since the taking of Rhé ; from whence we hear, by a new courier that came two nights since from my lord duke, that the fort doth hold out still, but is now compassed round about both by sea and land, and that they are brought to such want within it, as that they are stinted to a loaf a man by the day, and have no other but puddle water for all their uses. But there is another part of the tale, not so publicly divulged, that notwithstanding all that, there are some barks gotten with relief in the said fort, and that the King of France is preparing greater succours both for it and for the island of Oleron.

My lord duke, upon discovery of some practices used by the Popish inhabitants of the island, in giving advertisements, and helping those of the fort with provisions, had commanded them to depart out of it within six days, or else they should be used like enemies. But upon their submission and entreaty they have been suffered to remain there a little longer, to use their service both about the work of the trenches and about the vintage.

The last messenger hath brought over the knife where-

with it was intended to kill his grace, which was made of purpose for such damnable uses, it being two-edged, like a sword, strong, short, and very sharp in the point, with a thick handle, and two short branches between it and the blade, to stay the hand.

Those of Rochelle have not yet publicly declared themselves; but perceiving that the Duke of Angoulême, who is near them, with his army, had a purpose to build a fort *à la Pointe de Coreille* (one of the points of their haven), to command the entrance thereof, they are about to prevent and hinder that mischief, to raise up another in a place called 'l'ador, near the said haven, right over the Fort Louis; as you may perceive, sir, by the enclosed plot of the said town and island, which are reasonably well described, though the names be not rightly written.¹

There is a manifesto published in French by my lord duke, to declare his majesty's purpose in this action to be only for the defence of those of the religion, wherein he findeth his honour more interested, because the treaty made with them at his majesty's intervention hath been broken.

The Danish ambassadors were yesterday to have their first audience at Oaking, where the ambassador of Mantua is also to take his leave at the same time, whose errand, for any thing that I could learn, was only complimentary; though some report, that he came chiefly to feel the pulse and disposition of his majesty to a reconciliation with France. But that work and office is rather expected from these Danish ambassadors, as being interested in the matter.

The thirteen Dunkirkers that were met and chased by our fleet at her going out, having been forced to go about by the north of Scotland, have sought to revenge themselves, first, upon the English and Dutch fishermen in Ireland, of whom divers have been by them destroyed, and then upon the island of Shetland, belonging to Scotland, where they have ransacked and burnt some town and village.

The most of the Scottish lords are gone back, but have

¹ The enclosure has not been preserved. This is frequently the case.

left six deputies behind them here to follow their business; namely, two for the nobility, two for the gentry, and two for the commons, who are yet in pursuit thereof.

The king is expected on Saturday next in this town, where the queen hath been since Thursday last.

I do not hear as yet of any new course used to get money, only the proceedings go on against the refractories to the loan; and there is particular order given to Sir Robert Pye, that he shall pay money to no man.

Mr. Beaulieu to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, September 5, 1627.

I have little to write of at this time, there being no farther news come since my last from the island of Rhé; the chiefest subject of our discourses and consultations here, only this I may add to my former information, that there have been taken up a great number of wherries or boats to be sent thither; for what course or use I know not. And that, upon notice had, that eight great ships were to come out of Holland, for the King of France, there is a commission given to Sir Henry Mervin, to go and wait for them, with three of the kings, and eight merchant ships.

Amongst other projects that have been propounded here for the supplying or helping, in some sort, the present necessities, there is much talk of coining of base money, as a most effectual means thereunto. Howsoever, it is not thought to be without great inconvenience.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, September 14, 1627.

Sir William Becher, on Wednesday, last week, returned back from hence, and, on Monday last, embarked from Portsmouth, with 400 foot and money to the isle of Rhé. On Tuesday, the Lord Conway parted to the Isle of Wight, and the Lord Wilmot¹ to Plymouth, where 2000 foot expect him, twenty-five lusty ships being furnishing

¹ Viscount Wilmot, of Athlone.

here, and to be there the 20th of this month, to transport them to Rhé.

On Tuesday night, also, Dolbier, sometimes servant to Count Mansfield, passed here to court from my Lord Duke of Buckingham, and saith the fort is not yet taken; but taken it will be, forthwith; the distress of the French in it being such, that they must yield; and that it might ere this have been, had his grace been willing to adventure the lives of his men by assault.

Sir Francis Steward was, on the 29th of July, some fourteen leagues to the eastward of the Azores (as is written thence from him), expecting there, according to former instructions, to meet with the Earl of Warwick, their admiral, whom they lost upon the 2d of July, upon the coast of Spain, not knowing what became of him, by reason of a very great fog that befell that morning. About nine o'clock, they heard the noise of ordnance to leeward of them; whereupon, in the fog, they tacked about, and stood that way so far, that they were fain to stand off again for fear of the shore. But the noise of the ordnance was quickly done; and, at two in the afternoon, the fog clearing up, they found themselves in the midst of twenty-one sail of the Spanish Armada; but could see none of their consorts. The Spanish, taking them, as they imagined, for one of their own ships, never shot, and were, as they supposed, scattered by the former fog, and stood in for the shore, whilst they stood off for the sea. They remained long upon those coasts, seeking for their admiral, and were never cleared of the Armada, till the 12th of July; when, having shaken off the rest, the vice-admiral still followed and shot at them, whom they answered in the same kind, and thus continued a whole day, till being shot through and through, she was glad to leave them. They add, that the Brasil fleet, which they expected for prize, they now understood to be taken and sported by the Hollanders on the coast of Brasil. This is the sum of those letters.

The Earl of Warwick, upon this intelligence, prepareth to him with all speed.

Cartantes will be scarce hereafter, for there hath been a check given to the printers.

Sir Sackville Trevor, who was thought to have been sunk in the sea by the Hamburgers, is returned in safety. He shot at them, and tore some of them in their passing by; but they were too swift of sail for him; and so are gone for Spain.

Sir H. Wotton, I am told, hath lately taken upon him the order and habit of a minister; and yet is thought Mr. Montagu will get the Deanery of Windsor, now void.

Mr. Beaulieu to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, September 19, 1627.

About a sevensnight ago, one Dolbier, who had been heretofore treasurer and secretary to the Count of Mansfield, came from the island of Rhé, being despatched by the lord duke; but he having stayed a fortnight upon the sea, his news were somewhat stale, the letters being dated the 24th of August, whereof the substance was, that the fort did hold still, Monsieur Thoyras having refused to yield to my lord duke's summons, made unto him by a letter for the rendering of it, which he answered the next day by another.

This was done on the 20th and 21st of August, old style. But the provisions are very scarce in the fort, as Dolbier reported, and the same so compassed about, especially by sea, as that it is impossible for any French barque or shallop to get in, which, being ready in great numbers in all the ports and havens of that coast, are besides stopped and kept in by the English ships, that watch them at the mouth of every river and port, so as the longest time that it was supposed they could hold was the 10th of this month, which make us hope that the next messengers will bring the expected news of the rendering of the said fort. Nevertheless, Dolbier's chief errand is not only to hasten the sending away of 6000 English, Irish, and Scottish, which are already levied, but also to press for a further supply of 7000 more, to what end or for what design I know not; but the men will be sooner found than money.

My Lord Wilmot is now upon his going with the 2000 from hence; and the 200 Scottish, whereof the Earl of

Morton hath the leading, are to embark on the 20th of this month, and to take their arms at Dover.

Sir William Becher being driven back by a storm, came back to court, and was sent away again with £20,000. And my Lord of Holland, who hath been a little staggered in the resolution of his journey, is to carry, besides, as great or a greater sum along with him.

The bloody flux begins to be rife in the army.

The Rochellers have not yet declared themselves, though they be in a manner used like enemies by the Duke of Angoulême, who doth not hinder them from their harvest, and from having any succour by land.

Both the Danish and States' ambassadors have been very earnest here with the king for an atonement with France; but his majesty doth not think fit to hearken thereunto till the fort be taken.

The Dunkirkers' thirteen men-of-war that were gone about Scotland, are come in safely, notwithstanding the Hollanders' ships that lie before their haven, with three of their men-of-war, and seven other ships laden with fish, that they had taken.

We are in great fear for the King of Swedeland, who hath been so dangerously hurt in a battle, which he won against the King of Poland, as it is not thought he can escape it.

Mr. Beaulieu to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, September 26, 1627.

Since the writing of my last, here was for many days a strong rumour spread of a great loss received in my lord duke's army, by the sallying out of those of the fort, who were reported to have killed 800 of them in their trenches. And the author of this news was said to be an English merchant lately come from Rochelle to the town of Empson, in Dorsetshire. But that report hath since been contradicted, by the return of the ships that carried the 2000 Irish to the island, which contrarywise affirm, that six French barques having attempted to get into the fort with provisions, three of them were taken, and three others

sunk by the king's ships ; which keepeth us in hope that, when they of the fort shall find themselves destitute of any farther hope of relief, which now cannot but very hardly, and with much danger, come unto them, they will relent in their courage, and accept of a favourable composition, afore they be brought to a further extremity.

Here the proceedings do continue still against those that refuse to pay the loan ; for the which refusal the king seemeth to be so highly displeas'd with this city, as that they are persuas'd, if the term could be conveniently removed from hence, his majesty would willingly be brought to deprive them of the benefit thereof, and to have it transported and settled in some other part, as it hath been much rumoured that it should be. And, as they say, he doth intend to keep his court out of this place as long and as much as he can hereafter ; purposing at this present, as it is reported, after he hath spent some time at Hampton Court, where he is lately removed, to withdraw himself to Newmarket till Christmas.

Since the return and safe arrival of the Dunkirkers' ships into their haven, whereof I made mention in my last, some of them are come abroad again, and have taken divers merchant ships and colliers upon these coasts.

At the suit of the East India merchant here, the king hath stay'd at Portsmouth three great ships of the Dutch company, that were coming richly laden out of the East, to do himself and the English company that right and satisfaction, which all the while he could not get by fair means at the Hollanders' hands, for the murder of Amboyna, and divers other wrongs which they have received from them and by them in those parts ; which proceeding of ours, as it is enforced, and extraordinary so, it cannot be expected but that it will move a great deal of complaint and discontent on their parts. And it were to be wish'd that this had happened at some other time, when we had been in better intelligence with the rest of our neighbours. The States' ambassador doth much bestir himself about this business, and some think he will get the ships released.

The Scottish deputies are upon their going home, with good satisfaction from the king about their great differ-

ence, which, it is thought, will at this time be finally compounded.

For the King of Swedeland, it is now assured, that the wounds which he received are not mortal, and that he hath, since that fight, received with much joy and solemnity the order of the garter, which his majesty sent by Sir James Spense and Mr. Young.

Since the writing of this, I hear, out of the relation of a Hollander, that came lately from Rochelle to Plymouth, that Rochelle is now directly besieged by the Duke of Angoulême, who is building of another fort within half a league of the town over against the former; and that thereupon they have declared and joined themselves with my lord duke.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, September 29, 1627.

I hear that the Earl of Cork in Ireland is brought into a præmunire for £1500 land per annum, which he purchased, but not according to I know not what order made there, by the king. That his estate is already divided, part to the duke, part to the Earl of Holland, part to Endymion Porter, who, they say, hath sixty spiritual livings given to his disposition. The earl was coming over to plead for himself, but is prohibited from hence until the duke's return, who is no good friend of his, for marriage of his son with my Lord Digby's daughter, whom the duke endeavoured to have gotten for his kinswoman, which some make to be part of the cause of this evil.

Mr. Beaulieu to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, October 3, 1627.

By Mr. Ashburnham, that came from the Island of Rhé on the 20th of the last month, we understand that, notwithstanding all the strict watch kept by the king's fleet, twelve or thirteen French boats found means to get into the fort by a certain passage not suspected before. Whereto such orders hath since been taken, that now it is impos-

sible for them to have any more succour, unless the king's ships be scattered by some violent storm. And we are put in hope, notwithstanding all that relief, they must shortly give themselves up.

The governor, Monsieur Thoyras, entertained lately my lord duke with the proffer of a parley; and having heard the conditions propounded to him by his grace, he showed a disposition to accept of them, so as the king his master might be induced thereunto by consideration of their necessities, which he described that he might represent unto him by some gentleman of his company, and that my lord duke would also send * * * him * * * the conclusion, to which purpose Mr. Ashburnham was appointed to go that journey with the Baron of St. Sarin, who was sent by Thoyras; but St. Sarin having carried him into the fort by Rochelle, left him under pretence of going first to his own house to visit his wife, and went alone to Paris, then fetch out Mr. Ashburnham, as he would then set forward; but, leaving him at Rochelle, he got alone back into the island, where his treachery being discovered, he was apprehended and sent on board one of the ships, where he is kept a prisoner.

On the 14th of the said month, my lord duke received a great loss by the death of Sir John Barrow, who was killed by a musket-shot, as he was viewing a work of the enemy. He is generally much lamented, and his lady hath been brought over by Mr. Ashburnham.

The Irishmen came in good time for the refreshing of the army, and have been since seconded with the provisions and the four hundred English which Sir William Becher carried along with him. And by this time I hope the two thousand that my Lord Wilmot is to carry over are embarked at Plymouth, though my Lord of Holland will not set forward from hence till next week.

The French army before Rochelle groweth stronger and stronger every day, Monsieur the king's brother being come, and the king himself expected there very shortly. They have seized themselves of one of the points of the haven called Coreille, and are building four or five forts there over against the fort Louis, which is on the other

side. Whereupon, those of Rochelle have absolutely declared themselves for the king * * * and with their cannon have killed divers * * * amongst whom monsieur himself was in no small danger, having had the Count de, his bastard brother, whom he loved dearly, close by him.

Monsieur de Soubise hath been very sick, but now is recovered. The Duke of Rohan, his brother, is in the field, with 6000 foot and 500 horse, and hath taken a town upon the river of Rhone, called Baye sur Baye. We hear that the Duke of Lorraine and the discontented Bishop of Verdun are about to besiege the town of Verdun, where the king is building a citadel. His fleet is gathering and rigging up in Norbrun, which will not be of small strength, if the seven great ships which are coming out of Holland, and those which the Duke of Guise is reported to send from the Levant Sea may join with it.

The city, or some rich men of London, have yielded at length to lend the king £60,000.

Of the King of Denmark I can say no more, but that in general things go desperately with him. His ambassadors here have taken their leave of the king, and are upon their departure for France, to see whether they may find the dispositions or the occasions better there for the overture for a reconciliation than as yet they would work them here.

The queen is expected back here to-morrow from Hampton Court, and the king on Saturday next, his majesty having altered his purpose of staying so long, and going soon to Newmarket.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, October 6, 1627.

Our news was here the last week that the fort was relieved for some months by a stratagem, the French at the instant (being at night) making a furious sally upon our trenches to give us business enough, wherein we lost 600 of our men, amongst them Sir John Barrow, our colonel general. But the new journal, published by authority

October 2, tells it otherwise, that Sir John Barrow, on Wednesday, September 12, coming up from his quarters in the afternoon to give orders for the lining of a new entrenchment, was, as he came off from the works with some other commanders, mortally shot with a musket into the belly, through the guts, about five o'clock in the evening : within four or five hours after which he gave up the ghost, to the exceeding grief of the whole army, and many a passionate tear of the duke, who came to visit him at his death. That he showed a great deal of constancy, resolution, and religion at his death, as he had in the whole course of his life. That about the 4th or 5th of the last month there had some six shallops with relief gotten into the fort by the benefit of a seasonable night, and by the connivance, as was doubted, of some Dutch who came to the island for salt, and lay betwixt us and the main. That the day after Sir John Barrow's death the French from the main sought indeed to have again relieved it with twelve barks laden with victual and munition ; but that the one half were driven back to the main, and the other six taken by ours ; the prisoners of which our enraged soldiers put all to the sword before they received any orders from the duke, because that, being asked how they durst hazard themselves in this attempt, they answered, it was upon confidence of the duke's mercy, in case they should be surprised ; and now they keep no quarter at sea, but at land only. That our soldiers, when Sir John Barrow was slain, poured, in revenge, divers volleys of small and great shot upon the French, wherewith the Governor Thoyras's brother was slain and some other men of quality. But of any slaughter of our men by a sally of the enemy there is not a word ; only that the besieged attempted to undermine one of our batteries ; but their design was frustrated by a countermine of ours, and they beaten out of their own mine after some resistance.

Sir John Barrow's body is come into England with Mr. Ashburnham to Plymouth, whence it is coming about to Portsmouth, thence to be carried and entombed at Westminster.

My Lord of Holland is now gone with our 2000, and

my lord out of Scotland goes now at length with three or four thousand Scots, and amongst them, as Scottishmen say, 1500 gentlemen. The Irish, under Sir R. Bingley and Sir Pierce Crosby, 2,300, are already come to the isle.

Mr. Bedell,¹ whom I was with at his coming hither from Ireland on Saturday, could tell nothing of the Earl of Cork's business. So it may be it is not altogether true.

It is the Lord Digby of Ireland, to whose eldest son the earl married his daughter, against the duke's liking, she being at least promised £30,000 to her portion. The gentleman who hath married her hath two brothers of our college, Mr. Chapel's² pupils, which I knew not till now, though I knew they were Digbys.

Mr. Beaulieu to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, 10th October, 1627.

We have had no news from the island since my last, but certain gentlemen of the ambassador of Savoy, the Abbot of Seaglia, who is now coming hither out of the Low Countries, being come yesterday from Paris to meet him here, have spread a rumour amongst us that the fort was taken by force, and that the advertisement thereof had been constant there many days afore their coming away. But yet we dare not as yet give credit thereunto, both because the reported manner of the taking thereof seemeth to be very unlikely, and because all this while we have no news thereof. But a more confident speech there is of a more successful and advantageous sally which those of Rochelle are said to have made upon the King of France's army upon a provocation proffered by them at his arrival in the camp. Yet we do not as yet know the certain truth nor the particulars thereof.

The cardinal is there also with the king, who, it is thought, hath been moved to come thither rather out of the jealousy he hath of monsieur than for any necessity of his presence. Both the queens are left behind at Paris. A great many commissions are distributed in France for

¹ William Bedell, lately elected provost of Dublin College, in Ireland, and afterwards Bishop of Kilmorey.

² Afterwards Bishop of Cork and Ross, in Ireland.

raising of men, but the spirit of money to animate them is much wanting there as well as here.

The rear-admiral of the ship that the King of France hath built in Holland, called the Holy Ghost, a ship of some eight hundred tons, having twenty-two pieces of brass ordnance, and as many of iron, mounted in her, besides twelve pieces of brass in the hold, for battery, and 2000 men, with great quantity of powder and shot, was taken by Sir Sackville Trevor within the Texel, five or six hours after her coming out of Euchuyzen, to repair into France, and is brought to Harwich, having only made three great shot and two discharges of small shot, because they found themselves set upon by five or six of Sir Sackville Trevor's ships. She had some hundred Frenchmen and fifty Dutchmen, which kept the Frenchmen from firing of her, who had laid the train ready for it. They had quarter granted them, and were set on shore. The vice-admiral of the said French ship, called La Reyne, a brave ship, and richly beautified with gilding, lay not far from the place, but had more time to save herself. The States take it very offensively that this attempt should be offered and committed within their precincts, and the more, for that the French ambassador doth challenge satisfaction at their hands for it; for they had promised to secure the said ships within their bounds. This accident is like to make the rest of them unserviceable to their master this year, which shall not dare to stir unless the Dunkirkers make way for them into France. We hear that in Spain there is a good number of galleons ready for the King of France's service.

My Lord of Holland goeth away to-morrow, and carrieth £18,000 with him. In the mean time, there is order given for a new levy of 5000 men.

The Queen of Bohemia is brought to bed of another son, and my Lord of Anglesey sworn of the bed-chamber.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, October 12, 1627.

My Lord of Holland was yesterday and to-day going to Plymouth towards the duke, but his journey is stayed till

Monday, and his friends wish it were for good and all. He is to take neither charge nor command upon him, but only to visit, comply, say his errand, and return, in case the duke be not raised before his arrival there.

Sir Francis Steward is come to town some two days since, but hath brought nothing home with him; for after he in the *Hector*, being admiral, was consorted with Captain Carnock in the *Little Neptune*, his vice-admiral, and Captain Beaumont in the bark *Warwick* his rear-admiral, they met with a French man-of-war, which had taken two English, laden with fish, in their way homeward from Newfoundland. Captain Beaumont, being next, boarded the Frenchman, and took possession of her; whereat Captain Carnock being causelessly offended, (for he said Captain Beaumont had taken his prize from him) ran his stern upon the Frenchman's mast, and gave her so mortal a wound, as presently after she sunk. Sir Francis Steward coming up, told Captain Carnock he was utterly in the wrong, and that the prize was neither Carnock's, nor Beaumont's, nor Steward's, but my Lord of Warwick's and his associates; that all three of them were equally servants to his lordship, and therefore by all ways should seek to further his service, and by no means to hinder it. The event was, that though nothing was gotten to my lord, yet the two poor Englishmen are set at liberty.

On Wednesday, one Mr. Jordan,¹ a justice of peace of Exeter, and lately a zealous parliament man,² was sued in the Star Chamber by a fellow whom he had caused to be whipped for incontinency with a wench, his charge being that he had assembled about the same business a consistory of silenced ministers, contrary to the order of the church; and therefore was guilty of schism and Puritanism in the highest degree. Bishop Laud made a bitter invective against Mr. Jordan; but all the rest, from my lord chief baron in the lowest place, to my lord keeper in the highest, mainly took his part, and so condemned his adversary to pay him £20 costs and £40 damages, his accusation being first evidently disproved.

The king himself hath at his own charge appointed an

¹ Ignatius Jordan, alderman of Exeter.

² For the city of Exeter.

honest funeral for Sir John Barrow, which shall be performed next week.

Mr. Beaulieu to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, 17 October, 1627.

On Sunday last, by advertisement from the Hague coming from good hands to good hands here, we were almost brought to believe that the fort of St. Martin's was taken, so confident was the information and the report thereof in these parts; yet, hitherto there being no confirmation thereof come to us, we are now so far from giving credit thereunto, that as we are almost carried away with a contrary rumour whispered here of the relieving anew of the fort with a full supply: which for my part I think to be but a devised lie of some ill-willers considering the present disposition of things, and the advantage my lord duke hath since the joining of Rochelle, to keep them off from any such attempt.

My Lord of Holland is at length gone the journey, being departed hence on Saturday last towards Plymouth, so as by this time we think him to be arrived there, where the soldiers and all things have been long in readiness, expecting his coming.

At Dunkirk we hear there are 28 sail and 4,000 soldiers ready to set to sea, but for what part or design it will be, I doubt, as soon felt as known. Some think they will waft home the King of France's ships out of Holland, and assist him for the delivering of the fort, and breaking our navy. Others, that they will make use of the present occasion and distractions in Denmark, and seek to make themselves masters of the Sound, which would be unto them the greatest victory, the most beneficial conquest, that they have made these twenty years. Others are jealous of some great and desperate design that they have in hand against their old enemies the Hollanders, who have hitherto suffered the Marquis Spinola to go on with the building of his pernicious fort between Bergen op Zoom and Lillo, without attempting any thing else on their part since the taking of Goole.

Here is at length arrived the Abbot of Seaglia, the Duke of Savoy's ambassador, out of the Low Countries, whose coming is supposed to be specially for the procuring of an atonement with Spain; with which errand I believe he shall not be unwelcome here, being already very gracious with us for this person.

The Earl of Morton is expected at court this day, his Scottishmen being upon the coast to receive their arms at Dover, whom the king doth hasten as much as he can after the English, that are setting out from Plymouth.

Mr. Beaulieu to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, 31 October, 1627.

Against the sad tidings and fears conceived upon the letter received and sent to the king by my Lord of Holland, whereof I made mention in my last, his majesty received on Sunday last a contrary assurance by my lord duke's own letters sent hither by one Calandrini, who was some twelve days upon the way, being thereby certified both of the good estate of the said duke and his army, and of their constant resolution to prosecute their enterprise, notwithstanding the wants which they have and do suffer; wherewith it seemeth they were somewhat pinched afore the coming of Sir William Becher into the island, who was a long time upon the sea. But at his arrival, that small refreshing, which he brought them both of men, money, and victuals, together with the hope that he gave them of a greater and fuller supply that was coming, did so revive them and put new hearts into them, that they have not only since continued and maintaiued the siege, but also with some help they had from the town of Rochelle, which sent them 500 men and a good proportion of victuals, they have taken and made themselves masters of one of the fort's outworks, whereby they are now come to the counterscarp thereof.

And we understand by the said Calandrini, that my lord duke, having made a general muster of his army the day before his coming away, found therein yet 7000 able men for service, with an intent, as he reporteth, to give an

assault the next day after ; but that being conceived to be a hard and dangerous enterprise, both in regard there was as yet no breach made, and in respect of the mines, that their enemies would, no question, have prepared to receive them and blow them up, it is not thought my lord duke will put his men to the hazard, but rather expect the success from the great wants and necessities that the besieged are now reported to be reduced to, as this man affirmeth out of the mouth and by the declaration of some of them that are fled in very poor and miserable case out of the fort to the camps, not being able, as they testified, to endure the misery which they suffered there, both for want of lodging, fire, and nourishment, having had no more relief since the 25th of the last month, and being, as they reported, out of hope to receive any more, by reason of the strict watch and good order that was since taken to keep it off. So as the said Calandrini doth persuade himself that by this time the fort is yielded, or will be within a very few days. He brought word that one Littleton had been despatched one day or two before him with many letters by my lord duke, but that the storm drove him back into the island.

The like fortune hath my Lord of Holland had after his departure from Portsmouth, being forced by the violence of the contrary wind to come back to the same place, not without great danger of his life, which made him resolve afterwards to go from thence to Plymouth by land, where there is no news as yet come that he hath embarked himself : neither is Mr. Murray as yet come back, that was sent unto him.

Here was a foul murder committed here on Friday last by Sir Edward Bishop of Sussex on Mr. Henry Sherley of the same shire, whom he ran through with his sword, (having no weapon about him) as he came to him in his lodging in Chancery Lane, to demand of him an annuity of £40 which the said Sir Edward Bishop was to give him, whose lands (which are reported to be of £1500 or £2000 by the year,) were presently begged and given away, but himself not yet found out.

Mr. Pory to the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, November 2, 1627.

The last Monday Sir Thomas Darnell, Sir Walter Earle, Sir John Heveningham, and Sir John Corbet, by the hands of their servants, petitioned my lord chief justice and the rest of the judges of the King's Bench, that counsel might be assigned them to plead for their relief out of prison, which the judges acknowledged to be a just request, and promised a fair answer. On Tuesday they acquainted the king with it, who they say was much moved thereat, but appeased by reasons which they alleged. On Wednesday the judges granted those gentlemen their request, and subscribed all their names to all four petitions. To-morrow morning is the day of hearing, which, by reason of the pricking of sheriffs, must be put off till another day.

Many merchant strangers are now questioned at the council-table about their freedom, it being there held for a maxim that strangers' sons, though born in England, are not capable of buying or inheriting of land, but only their grandchildren. The strangers' petition at the board that they might have only the benefit of law, which the lords say they cannot grant, because they have made an order to the contrary, and that they cannot go against their own order.

For the Isle of Rhé, the last messenger thence, Sir Thomas Littleton, (as I heard constantly at Westminster to-day), saith, that, before his coming away, the fort was, at high-noon day, and in sight of our whole fleet, relieved by twenty-five barks, the wind that brought them in being directly contrary to all ours. Whereupon, the duke, at his coming away, was shipping his ordnance, and making all speed for England. Dr. Turner¹ being present at the relation of these news, said, "The man for whom I wear this black riband," (meaning Sir John Barrow), "counselled the duke, at his very first sight of the fort, that he should never put spade into the ground, but should embark himself, and undertake some other design."

¹ Samuel Turner, M.D. He was member for Shaftesbury, in Dorsetshire, in the parliament which met February 6, 1625-6. He was also member for the same place in the Long Parliament, and died about the year 1647.

The upshot of a French libel now sung at Paris is, that though the Duke of Buckingham be not able to take the Citadel of Rhé, yet is he able to take the Tower of London, which may be construed in many ways.

The French king's saying to the Savoy ambassador, as he came that way, was, "Alack," said he, "if I had known my brother of England had longed so much for the Isle of Rhé, I would have sold it him for half the money it hath cost him."

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, November 3, 1627.

On Tuesday was sennight, was the brave funeral of Sir John Barrow, at the king's charge. It was carried out of Durham House, with twelve hundred soldiers marching before it in arms of the companies of the city, with colours, spikes, and muskets trailed. The pike which he recovered from the Frenchman, with sword and target, upon our first landing, was carried advanced before with his own ensign trailed, and his horse for service clad in mourning black. Next to the horse, went fifty-six old soldiers, with black cassocks, swords, and staves, according to the years of his age. His scutcheon, sword, gauntlet, and spurs, were carried by the heralds. His brother, chief mourner, accompanied with two other principal mourners; next to these, went the Earls of Dorset, Warwick, Carlisle, Berkshire, Mulgrave; Viscounts Grandison, Conway, Wimbledon, and divers other knights and gentlemen of quality. In the midst of the abbey church was a stately hearse erected, covered over with black velvet, where his corpse was placed during the sermon. Upon his hearse, his scutcheons were fixed with this motto, *Nec insisto parvis*. His body was interred near the tomb of Sir Francis Vere, whose pupil he had been in the art of war, and as it was put in the earth, the musketeers honoured it with three volleys of shot, their colours displayed, and their drums beating, and his own ensign broken and buried with him.

Mr. Beaulieu to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, November 7, 1627.

Since the coming of Calendrini, whereof my last made mention, and of Sir Thomas Littleton, who arrived two days after, and reported the same things, we have been here at a stay for any more news out of the Island, where it is feared the army will grow to some new impatience, through the long delaying of supplies which are yet, for anything we know, at Plymouth, having been driven back thither with my Lord of Holland and my Lord Wilmot, by the violence of the contrary winds, after they had been three or four days at sea. For the town of Rochelle will not be able to continue so long their supplies of victuals unto them, neither do I know when they will be able to put to sea again, having had two or three of their best ships spoiled, or at least much hurt by that tempest. Besides that, I understand, the army is much weakened by the number of the sick amongst them, most of the bloody flux; no less, as I hear, than 2,500, whereof those of Rochelle have taken in 1000 into their town, who have also supplied my lord duke with some more shallops, to serve for the better keeping of the entry into the fort. But, whilst we are wholly bent against this main fort, the lesser, called Le Prée, is daily strengthened with fortifications and with supplies of men, so as, though that were taken, we should find a new work within the other part of the island. In the mean time, my lord duke, to prevent all inconveniences of a sudden departure, is fortifying a place in the island called L'Isle de L'Oye, to serve, in all events, for a retreat unto his men. Monsieur de Soubise is still sick of a quartan ague.

By the report of the aforesaid messenger, we understand that there are certain deputies of Rochelle appointed to come hither: We hear also that the assembly held in the town of Usez, of the province of Bas Languedoc and Les Sevennes, have declared and joined themselves with the town of Rochelle, and are about to call a general assembly of all the churches of France, to draw them to the same resolution, with this promise, never to make

any peace, but with the consent of his majesty of Great Britain.

There is a post lately come from Mr. Montague, in Savoy, by whom we understand that the duke stirreth not, as was so long reported, that the Count of Soissons is yet in his court, and that the Princess of Piedmont, who was fallen sick, is recovered of her sickness.

Here is a commission granted to five bishops, namely, to those of Durham,¹ Bath and Wells,² London,³ Oxford,⁴ and Rochester,⁵ to execute the Archbishop of Canterbury's place.

The prisoners that are here for the loan have gotten an Habeas Corpus out of the King's Bench, and counsel appointed them by the judges to answer the cause of their imprisonment before them, which, I hear, is to be tomorrow, and that Mr. Recorder, Sergeant Branston, and another sergeant, are appointed their counsel. In the mean time, to procure more money to the king, the lords of the council have engaged themselves to employ their best credit, and to become bound in their own room for his majesty.

There hath been great harm done by the late storm, namely, upon the poor colliers, whereof eighteen or twenty ships have been cast away, to the great prejudice of this city, which is much unfurnished at this present of that commodity.

Mr. Beaulieu to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, November 14, 1627.

You shall be too soon informed by the common rumour of the sad and doleful tidings which these lines do bring unto, of the utter overthrow of our enterprise of Rhé, and of the land army that was in the island, by the landing therein of 3000 foot and 500 horse, commanded by the Count de Schomberg, which, setting fiercely on our men on one side, and those of the fort on the other, got the advantage, and made a considerable slaughter of them, and chiefly of the Irish, who bore the first brunt of the onset,

¹ Dr. Neile.

² Dr. Laud.

³ Dr. Mouteine.

⁴ Dr. John Hewson.

⁵ Dr. Buckeridge.

and fought very bravely. What the general loss of the common soldiers is, it is not known, nor the particular circumstances of the action. But, among the men of note that are reported to be lost, I hear there are dead, Sir Charles Rich, Sir Alexander Brett, Sir Edward Conway, Sir Edward Halley, Colonel Spry, &c. My Lord Mountjoy is taken prisoner. My lord duke and all those that were in his quarter, as I hear, went safely to the ships. Of the rest, as yet we know no certain particular; these news being written in haste from Plymouth, by my Lord Westmeath, an Irishman, (who, it seemeth, landed there afore any other of the fleet,) to my Lord Conway, who received the letters yesterday. Whereupon, the king despatched presently Mr. Murray, of the bedchamber, to Plymouth, there to meet my lord duke, it is thought, with some comfortable message from his majesty, and thither is my lord chamberlain sent this day after him.

I suppose M. de Soubise was in Rochelle when this misfortune happened, by reason of his sickness, otherwise he is like to have a hard bargain of it, if he be fallen into their hands.

I hope, at least, the fleet will come home safe, which we shall hear more of certainly within a day or two, as also what is become of my Lord of Holland and his troops, which, as we heard, did set sail from Plymouth on Thursday last. For the Scottishmen which were come before Portsmouth, and their colonel, my Lord Morton, who was commanded away two days since from hence, they shall save their further journey, and so shall for this time the 2000 English of the last levy, which were going after the rest towards Plymouth.

Captain Pennington had better luck than the rest in his journey to Newfoundland, where he hath taken some thirty French ships of the fishermen, which he bringeth along with him. The Dunkirkers, for all the narrow watching of the Hollanders, are got out to sea some fifteen or sixteen of them, with four thousand soldiers, as it is reported; yet, having lost some of their ships by storm, whereof the vice-admiral is said to be one, but what course they have taken is not yet known.

Concerning the Habeas Corpus granted to the prisoners of the loan, the hearing of the cause was put off from Thursday to Saturday, and then the business taken into the king's hands.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, November 16, 1627.

Our army's lingering so long at the Isle of Rhé, (the French landing the flower of that king's army both of horse and foot, which beleaguered Rochelle) hath been the occasion of the greatest and shamefullest overthrow the English have received since we lost Normandy; the number of common soldiers slain not amounting to fewer than seven hundred, as many do report, though some would mince it to five hundred or to four hundred. But where so many officers went to the pot, how could fewer soldiers suffer?

His majesty's coach is sent to take the duke in at Portsmouth, and those of the court run to meet him, as if he were returned from some conquest. The king seems as well affected to him as ever, and is sending forth a commission to inquire what were the causes of so long a delay of the supplies intended to have been carried by my Lord of Holland, and perhaps their negligence will pay for his disaster.

We hear that the gentlemen recusants of the loan shall shortly be set at liberty, without any pleading their cause at the bar.

Extract from another letter from London, of the same date.

On Tuesday, at noon, the news of Rhé was extreme at the Exchange, as if almost all our men had been slain, and our ordnance lost; but on Wednesday it was somewhat mitigated, and it was said there were not above four hundred slain, and our ordnance safe. I have heard of no particulars which I dare report for certain but these, that Colonel Brett, Sir Charles Rich, Mr. Charles Blundell, and Mr. Sheldon, a kinsman of the duke's, with a few other resolute gentlemen, undertook to defend a bridge against

the French horse, till our men escaped, and, after they had twice bravely repelled them, were, in the end, trodden under foot by the horse, having refused to accept of quarter from the French, who would fain have taken them alive. That Sir William Cunningham, lieutenant-colonel of the horse, after he had twice broken through the French horse, was oppressed by multitude and slain.

The duke is expected here on Saturday. Divers lords are ridden towards Plymouth to meet him, and my lord chamberlain is gone with a rich jewel unto him from the king. They report he behaved himself valiantly, and saw all the men aboard before he left the land.

Extract from another letter, of the same date, written from York House.

Some, I doubt not, will inform you, as though my lord duke had not done his part with the best, yea, and beyond the best in the last act; but believe no such reports. For both at the assault of the citadel by ours of the 27th October, and when the French assaulted us by landing new forces on the 29th, he was himself in person with the last. More I could, but will not speak of him.

Of our ships and ordnance none are lost. Most of the prisoners, except Colonel Gray and my Lord Mountjoy, we regained by exchange of theirs taken by us. The greatest particular of dishonour was the loss of some forty ensigns, which the French won from us, and have sent them to Paris, to set up in their church of Notre Dame.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, November 17, 1627.

Because our last news cancels whatsoever went before, I will first tell you what came last night concerning the action of Rhé, viz., that it was now at length come to an end, with no little dishonour to our nation, excessive charge to our treasury, and great slaughter of our men. For, after a day and a half's fight, of but 2500 of ours, as

is said, against 7000 French, we are driven thence, with the slaughter of about 500 of our men, amongst whom Sir Charles Rich, Sir Alexander Brett, with other colonels and captains. Prisoners of note taken, Lords Cromwell, Mountjoy, Sir Andrew Gray, &c. Two pièces of ordnance lost, the rest being beforehand shipped, as was the duke. The news came on Tuesday of the duke's return with the fleet to Plymouth, unto whom his majesty sent presently Mr. Murray, of the bedchamber, with a gracious message. He was expected to be at London on Wednesday or Thursday.¹

Have you heard that Dr. Eggesheim is slain? Is it true? some say by an Englishman, that counterfeited to be flying out of his own country, for writing somewhat against the present affairs; upon which confidence he was admitted by Eggesheim to private and secure familiarity, and some three weeks after, they walking out together, Eggesheim was found slain, and the Englishman, his fellow exile, not seen after. Others tell it otherwise. This was done this summer, though I heard of it but lately.

Mr. Beaulieu to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, November 21, 1627.

To satisfy, as I can, your desire expressed in your last letter, which I received yesterday, it seemeth that the delaying of the supply was the cause of the misfortune; for that the want thereof had forced and made my lord duke to resolve to leave the island, and to come away the very same day that he did, though the enemy had not enforced him thereunto. Nay, the day before that was the day that had been set for the embarking of the army, if there had been then carts ready (which, through ill order, were wanting) to carry away the munitions and other necessary provisions of the service; whereby they

¹ Thus terminated Buckingham's expedition for the relief of Rochelle, a proper result to a series of blunders that could not be excused even by the exhibition of the courtly gallantry and chivalrous intrepidity he displayed. On the retreat of our force to the ships, they suffered considerably, and the expedition returned to England, where a storm of indignation awaited the incapable commander, which, however, did not in any way lessen his influence with his sovereign.

were enforced to put it off to the fatal day, which cut off the lives of so many brave men, which resolution, when my lord duke saw himself enforced unto, yet not to leave any means unattempted to compass his design, he betook himself to as generous as dangerous an attempt to be executed before his departure, as the best act of the tragedy, which was to give a general assault to the fort, with the help of ladders, there being no breach made thereunto; and so it was performed on Saturday, the 27th of October, but without success, which, indeed, was found impossible, and with the loss of 160 men, amongst which were many captains. And the Monday following, they should have come away, having already shipped in their ordnance (saving only four drakes, that have been left), but that they were forced, by the reasons aforesaid, to stay till the next day; which, by the favour of the night, and of the little fort that still remained in the enemy's hands, brought two hundred horse and three or four hundred foot upon them, besides those of the great fort; which did so press them in their retreat to the Isle de l'Oye (a place which his grace had fitted and fortified for that purpose, being some four miles distant from the town of St. Martin's, the place of their departure), as that three times they made stand, to have offered battle to the enemy; which, expecting their advantage, stayed back till the most part of the army were passed over the bridge and other narrow passages into the said island; and then fell upon the rearward, which was first disordered by the fright and disorder of our own horses that fell upon them, and made way amongst them to the enemy, whereby there were four or five hundred soldiers killed, and many brave commanders and officers, as you see, sir, by the enclosed bill, both of the prisoners and the dead, as well in the retreat as in the assault. The enemy's horse, in which were *La Compagnie des Gens d'Armes de la Reyne Mère*, with divers voluntaries of good quality, were so hot in their pursuit, that they made over the bridge into L'Isle de l'Oye after them; but, being driven back again, the bridge was presently broken down; and so they embarked themselves without any further disturbance, on the 30th of October. But the

wind being contrary for their coming out of that road, they stayed there a sevensnight after they were embarked, before they could put themselves under sail.

Monsieur de Soubise is come back with my lord duke, and some two hundred Frenchmen, that could not get into Rochelle through the disorder in their coming away.

They all stay yet at Portsmouth, with my Lord of Holland's troops, which they met by the way; but my lord duke himself came hither on Saturday, who was most joyfully and graciously received by the king, who, the next day, held close council with him, and with the lords; and this day he is to go down again to Portsmouth, to take order both about the navy and the soldiers, which, as I hear, are to be placed and billeted, to wit, the English all along the shores on that coast, and the Scottish in the Isle of Wight. And so far are both his majesty and the duke from being daunted with this misfortune, as that they are in hand, as I hear, to put to sea again presently, or at least to send some ships, both with men and provisions, to Rochelle, from which place there are three deputies come along with them, and newly arrived in this town, which were despatched by their superiors after the retreat made out of the island.

It was a great unhappiness that not only all the wine and salt, but also 120 tons of corn of my lord duke's provision, were left in the island, whereby the poor Rochellers will be the sooner brought to want.

By these deputies we understand, that the Duke of Rohan hath given an overthrow to the Duke of Montmorency, in Languedoc, but the particulars thereof I could not yet learn.

Concerning the Abbot of Seaglia, he goeth and cometh often and familiarly both to the king and queen's court; but, for the negotiation, I hear no more of it, but that it is at a stand, as well as that of the Danish ambassadors, which are yet lingering here in expectation of a new opportunity, and more favourable for that good work, from the which this ill success will put them further off than they were before.

Touching the East India ships of Holland, they are yet under arrest upon this coast.

Sir William Cunningham, captain of the horse, and Sir Edward Halley are chiefly commended for their valour showed in this fight.¹

¹ OFFICERS SLAIN AT THE ASSAULT.

Captain Wade.	Captain Loffrey.
— Baden.	— Reynolds.
— Pennant.	— Blandred.
— Brand.	— Leake.
— Bond.	— Tenment.
— Barret.	Sir James Bagg.
— Shaghney.	Sir Arthur Aston.

PRISONERS AT THE ASSAULT.

Captain Morgan.	Lieutenant Douly.
— Cooke.	— Farrington.
— Owen.	— Brome.
— Brett.	— Hyde.
— Dudley.	— Wakeman.
Lieutenant Gray.	

OFFICERS SLAIN AT THE RETREAT.

Colonels.	{ Sir Charles Rich.	Captain Watts.
	{ Sir Alexander Brett.	— Giffard.
	{ Sir Edward Halley.	— Halton.
	{ Sir Ralph Bingley.	— Blunt.
	{ Sir John Radcliff.	— Lee.
Lieut.	{ Sir John Telkerre.	Sir Ralph Sheldon.
Colonels.	{ Captain Vaughan.	Captain Preston.
	{ Captain Roberts.	— Blanchard.
Sergeant Majors.	{ Captain Cornwall.	— Baund.
	{ Captain Standish.	— Spring.
	{ Captain Watkins.	— Abram.
	{ Sir W. Cunningham.	— Morrison.
	{ Captain Rennells.	— Williams.
	— Pelden.	— Yorke.
	— Carleton.	— Luke.
— Betts.	— Drury.	
— Tyrrhit.	— Pennant.	

PRISONERS AT THE RETREAT.

My Lord Mountjoy.	Captain Reany.
Sir Andrew Gray.	— Aston.
Captain Don.	— Moyle.
— Fanshaw.	— Stary.
— Hanlen.	— Hennings.
— Whitehead.	— Dimmock.
— Norton.	— Slade.
— Bakett.	— Yates.
— Reilge.	— Giles.
— Lee.	— Newcome.
— Gifford.	

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, November 23, 1627.

On Sunday last, the duke, at the council-table, affirmed, upon his honour, that there were but 400 slain in the last defeat; and that he had brought 5000 of our men home alive. But some Irish that are returned thence, do report, that of the English only, beside Irish, were slain 8464, and that of those 2400 Irish that went thither, there come off but 600. And certainly the loss must be great and lamentable, as I saw a list this morning of colonels, lieutenant-colonels, sergeant-majors, corporals of the field, and captains, of sixty in number. And the French have hung up, in our Lady's Church, in Paris, forty-two ensigns; the greatest dishonour that our nation ever underwent.

There was lately, as I have been told, a great contestation about the loss between my lord Steward¹ and the duke, in the king's presence, when the king also affirmed, that Sir Sackville Crow had written to him of a far greater than the duke would acknowledge; and, instead of 5000, which he brought home, there be those that affirm, there are but 2500; others, but 1500; and that 400 men were wilfully commanded to the slaughter, at the assault upon the fort, when the scaling-ladders were by five foot too short.

His grace hath been all this week going to Portsmouth, to comfort and refresh the relics of our once flourishing army, and to send aid to Rochelle, who have now cast themselves into the arms of King Charles, and have offered to coin his money, and plant his standard upon their wall.

Yesterday was the great pleading upon the writ of Habeas Corpus, for releasing the gentlemen committed about the loan. The pleaders were—Mr. Noy, Mr. Selden, Mr. Branston, and Mr. Holbourne;² who, they say, made the case so clear, as the judges cannot, either with modesty or safety, determine against them. On Monday do plead the king's counsel, and before the term ends we hope of good success.

¹ William, third Earl of Pembroke.² Colthorp.

Dr. Mainwaring, that preached and printed two sermons for an absolute monarchy, sent this other day to a friend of mine, to help him to all the ancient precedents he could find to strengthen his opinion; who answered him, he could help him nothing, but only to hang him; and that if he lived till a parliament, &c., he should be sure of an halter. Another of his own coat said, "Mr. Mainwaring, I would have you consider of three things: first, that since Mr. Sibthorp published his sermon, his house was burned down. And, secondly, since Dr. Bargreave, dean of Canterbury, published his, he hath with disgrace been turned out of court. And what will become of you when there is a parliament?"

There is a new loan of 120 or £150,000 projected, to be paid in by the Lords and others of the Privy Council, and by the rich officers of the Chancery, the Exchequer, and the Court of Wards. And I am told that the Earl of Bridgewater hath, *eo nomine*, disbursed £10,000, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer¹ £4000; and that the Six Clerks should pay £1000 a man.

Extract from another letter from London, of the same date.

There was one Mr. Pine, a lawyer, of Lincoln's Inn, committed for speaking some words, implying, there must needs have been some defect in the chief managers of this enterprise.² He is since bailed, but with very great bail, four knights being bound for him in bonds of £2,000 apiece. It is doubted how he will speed, and whether his speeches, whatsoever they are, will not be tried, if they may be made capital.

The gentlemen's counsel for Habeas Corpus, Mr. Noy, Sergeant Bramston, Mr. Selden, Mr. Colthorp, pleaded yesterday with wonderful applause, even of shouting and clapping of hands, which is unusual in that place.

¹ Sir Richard Weston

² Buckingham's disastrous retreat from Rhé.

Mr. Beaulieu to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, November 28, 1627.

I made no mention in my last relation of the loss of men made by the French at the fight of the retreat out of the island of Rhé, because I could not learn it; neither doth it appear by any information that it was much considerable, for that they took the English at an advantage, when they were engaged in a narrow longway, going towards the bridge of the Isle de l'Oye, between two salt pits, or marshes; that were full of water and mire; and the English horse that were left behind, being overcharged by the French, fell disorderly upon their own foot in that narrow passage, and so made way to their enemies amongst them, which by that means had almost no resistance made them, but only when they came to the bridge, where some of them were killed, but who they were, or how many, I could not truly understand; only I hear, at the first meeting of the horse, there was a man of note slain by Sir William Cunningham. Some prisoners my lord duke hath brought over with him, which had been formerly taken, whereof there are six gentlemen in this town, to wit—le Baron de Lausan, le Baron de St. Surin, Rafilly Laury, the governor of the island of Oleron, and three others, who are here without any restraint, expecting the return of another of their fellow-prisoners, called Mons. de Beaulieu, who is gone *sur la foy* into France, to procure the ransom both for himself and them. But I hear that the king is purposed to send them back freely without any ransom, hoping belike, that on the other side they will be moved by that courtesy to do the like to the English; howsoever, it is here reported that they have carried them, together with thirty-six English colours, in triumph into the town of Paris.

Concerning l'Isle de l'Oye, which my lord duke had assured to himself, only to secure his embarking upon such an accident, he left it, after he had made the use thereof, by the breaking down of the bridge which he had made.

My lord duke is not yet gone back to Portsmouth, by

reason that the ships which did cast anchor before Plymouth are not yet come up to that place. In the mean time they are here in deliberation to send some supply to Rochelle, but what the sum will be, or in what kind, I know not, only I hear there are 100,000 quarters of corn provided for that purpose. The deputies of that town are now lately come to this place.

The fifteen Dunkirkers are about the coast of Sussex, being waited on by twenty Hollanders, which, as I hear, are to be assisted by ten ships of his majesty's fleet.

The king hath been willing, at length, to give way to the great cause between him and the prisoners for the loan, which was pleaded on Thursday last, in their behalf, by four lawyers, to wit—Sergeant Bramston, Mr. Noy, Mr. Selden, and Mr. Colthorp; and on Monday last Mr. Attorney, with the learned counsel, was heard in his answer for the king, for whom the sentence was pronounced yesterday at the Bench, that his majesty had full right and authority to proceed as he had done, there being divers precedents alleged of it for the like things done by his predecessors, namely, three times by Queen Elizabeth, and that all the remedy that the subjects had therein was to have recourse to his majesty's clemency.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, November 30, 1627.

On Monday last, Mr. Attorney General answered those four that pleaded in the behalf of the committed gentlemen; and on Tuesday my lord chief justice, in the name of the whole Bench, gave sentence against them, without hearing any reply, the gentlemen having, as they say, reserved their main forces for the rear. His lordship (as I heard related) said, these gentlemen had taken an undue course in petitioning first to the judges, whereas they ought of right to have put up a petition unto the king, whereupon, if his majesty had released them, then they must. Besides, he said, that none of the precedents alleged by those four pleaders did fit the case of the gentlemen their clients, because in every of those precedents

there was the cause of the parties imprisonment expressed in the warrant; whereas, in the last warrant from the Lords for commission of these gentlemen, no cause of imprisonment was mentioned, save only his majesty's special command. Whereby it seems, that a man committed for some cause expressed, though a great one, may be bailable; but if the cause be unexpressed, he shall be unbailable. Whereof the judges gave this reason, that where the cause of imprisonment was not specified, it might be so great, and of such quality, as not fit to be divulged, nor for them to meddle with. His lordship said, moreover, that the precedents alleged by the pleaders was brought in by halves, as if they had uttered that only which was for them, but concealed the rest. In brief, the gentlemen are remanded to prison, and there like to lie by it.¹

Mr. Pine's trouble, they say, is wrought by my Lord Powlet, son to the marquis,² and the witnesses produced against him; one to be a blacksmith, whose alehouse heretofore he had put down; another a glazier, whom for debauchedness he had bound to his good behaviour. These accuse Mr. Pine of words spoken at his table some two years since, concerning the king; which, notwithstanding, the judges, we hear, are of opinion cannot touch his life, and that he shall be brought only to answer it in the Star Chamber *ore tenus*. He was first committed to his chamber in Lincoln's Inn, then to the Gatehouse, and now, lastly, to the King's Bench. He is a man of great estate, £2000 per annum at the least.

Our diocesan³ against Sunday was sennight, by his pursivant Tomlins, prohibited the clergy of the city to speak aught that hath any way concerned what hath befallen in the business of Rhé. And an Oxford man, who that day preached at the cross, had his sermon perused and castrated before he came there.

My Lord of Carlisle is preparing to go ambassador, some say, to the Electoral Diet of the German princes at Mulhausen; others say to Savoy and thence to Venice, as some imagine to borrow some great sum of money of that sig-

¹ Such was justice in those days.

² Of Winchester.

³ Dr. Mountayne.

nory. Others guess some other reason of this employment.

Yesterday was an order made in the Star Chamber, that Sir Thomas Jenkinson of Suffolk should have fetters put upon him, because he refuseth to pay a fine lately imposed upon him by that court.

Extract from another letter from London, of the same date.

Yesterday being Thursday, was my Lady Purbeck's¹ case heard at large in the high commission, which lasted from two o'clock till after eight. It was held in the Bishop of London's house, and some extraordinary commissioners joined with them, viz., my lord keeper, my lord president, lord steward, and lord chamberlain. For the lady pleaded Dr. Gwyn, Dr. Zouch; against her were, Dr. Reeves, Dr. Duck, and Dr. Eden, who urged strong presumptions, as—1. That she came to Dr. Lamb's chamber (Sir Robert Howard being there) in the habit of a maid servant, with a basket on her arm, and provision in it for their supper; that they were both together upon the bed; and that Lamb drew the curtain, and locked them in. 2. That at Ware they lay in the same inn, and had their chamber near together. 3. That Sir Robert Howard came often unto her at evenings, crossing the water to York House, there being a private and secret passage to her chamber; and that he was seen often coming away very timely in the morning. The answer was that those accused her were her sworn enemies, and such as had threatened her a mischief. That the former lord keeper had urged some against their consciences to accuse her, threatening them otherwise to be in chains all their days. In fine, Sir Henry Martin gave sentence, and upon the forenamed presumptions and allegations pronounced her guilty of adultery, and therefore condemned her to do penance in a white sheet in the Savoy, to pay the court 500 marks, and to be imprisoned during the pleasure of the court. To which it is like the rest agreed: my author coming away before all had spoken.

¹ Frances, daughter of Sir Edward Coke, by Lady Hatton, and wife of John Villiers, Viscount Purbeck, brother to the Duke of Buckingham.

The last week came four burgomasters of Rochelle to our king, to surrender unto him their town. What answer they have is not yet known.

His majesty is now selecting out 15,000 men, who shall lend him £150,000.

There is yet one high commission day, appointed more, and it is thought Mr. Prynne the lawyer, who wrote against Montagu, shall be censured, unless it be deferred till the next term.

Extract from another letter from London, of the same date.

The Earl of Holland is commanded to stay at Portsmouth with the fleet and all the captains.

Secretary Coke is in some disgrace for neglecting to hasten the supplies which should have been sent to St. Martin's. So is Sir Sackville Crow for writing the first news of our overthrow in too free a manner, he being then at Portsmouth.

Mr. Beaulieu to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, December 5, 1627.

Since the return of the fleet from the Isle of Rhé, our former endeavours for the procuring of money have been redoubled, and as the lords of the council have been dealt withal to that end, so there is a particular course taken with those, that are held to be most able by the benefit of their places to move them to contribute towards the public necessities: amongst which the six clerks of the chancery, having been called before the council, have been demanded £10,000, who, pretending themselves to be destitute of present money, have offered only their suretyship for £5000, which would not be accepted of. How they have been dealt withal I could not yet understand. And now there is a great speech of a number of privy seals, that shall be sent forth for a great sum of money. Yet I do not perceive that there is at this present any pressing preparations in hand for the employment of the same. Neither is the pro-

vision of corn, which is making for Rochelle, and to be sent thither presently, more for this time than two or three thousand quarters; a small proportion for that town which hath at least 16,000 people in it, and hath emptied itself much to supply my lord duke, when he was in the island, and therefore corn will be at this time the best and most welcome supply that can be sent them.

By one that come away from thence ten days after the departure of the fleet, we learn, that as yet there are no ships of the King of France before the haven; but that those of his land army are chiefly busy now in the making of an estacade, wherewith they intend to bar the haven, that no ships shall be able to go in or out. In the mean time, those of the town have set out twenty-five or thirty ships and barks at sea; which have already taken a bark with forty thousand munition loaves in it that was going to the Isle of Rhé.

By that messenger, who was himself present at the last fight in Rhé, and had more time since to know the particulars thereof, we understand, that the loss of men was greater on the French side than was first reported, and little inferior to that of the English.

My Lord of Carlisle is preparing to go in ambassage into Lorraine and Savoy, with what errand you may, sir, better conceive than I can particularly inform you thereof. I hear that he will take his way by Flanders, and go to the Infanta's court. He giveth out that he will depart the next week; but I doubt it will be so soon.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, December 8, 1627.

I shall send you with other news of a particular relation of our defeat at Rhé by an eyewitness; where you shall find the cause of all our disaster to have been our over-daring delay in marching that we might not seem to fly; whereas, otherwise, they say, we might have been out of danger before the French could have overtaken us. Sir Charles Rich, and other experienced commanders, are said

to have mightily dissuaded our stay at the hills : but somebody called them cowards for their pains, notwithstanding the reasons they alleged, which fell at length accordingly. But when their advice was imputed to cowardice, they answered they would show themselves to be no cowards, and so did every one of them, (as they say) losing their lives in that which happened.

A relation of the manner of the defeat of our men in the Isle of Rhé.

On Monday the 29th of October, in the morning, our whole army came to St. Martin's, except those 300 which were sent to guard the bridge over which we were to retreat into the Isle de l'Oye. But before we could be ready to march away, came intelligence to my lord duke, that the enemy was marching from the little fort, whereupon command was given that we should march away with all expedition that might be. But, before we were out of the town, many of the enemy came out of the fort, and followed the rear of us with their swords drawn in a bravado, calling and hallooing unto us. Whereupon, being musket-shot out of the town, we were all drawn into battle, thinking the enemy would have set upon us; for they had 300 horse and above 3000 foot, which were within a half mile of us. But for the present they would advance no nearer us. We therefore all turned faces about, and advanced somewhat towards them, which they seeing, somewhat made a stand. Then Sir William Cunningham and Sir Alexander Brett, with some other of our commanders, shouted out and waved their hats, flourished their swords, and called to the enemy to come on : but they, having a further prospect, would not then stir.

Then we turned our faces again, and marched through a village, where, behind the walls and close places, we laid some of our musketeers in ambuscade. Now the enemy marched forward, thinking to have marched that way : but their horses approaching near to our ambuscades, our musketeers gave fire upon them, which caused them to

retreat and march another way. We had not marched above three miles farther, than we came to many little hills, which we marched up, and underneath set ourselves in battle, staying there one hour before we began to march forward. In the mean time, the enemy, which were about a mile and a half off, came almost up to us, and stood upon the tops of hills to view after what manner we marched, and which way.

Then were drawn forth of the forlorn hope some musketeers to shoot at those upon the hills, and to play upon their horses. But, as we marched away, they still approached nearer upon us; at what time the passage was so narrow, having salt-pits on each side, that we could not march above five or six abreast. The enemy, now seeing his opportunity, poured forth a great volley of shot upon us. Then was command given to march away as fast possible as we could; for until this time we had delayed and overstripped time, as being too confident that the enemy durst not meddle with us. But, as our rear begun to march away, their horse soon charged my Lord Mountjoy's troops, which presently retreated, giving fire over their shoulders, and rode in amongst our ranks, and routed us so, that the most began to shift for themselves, and confusedly ran away, and many of them casting away their arms; other some, running into the water, were cut off. Our field-pieces were not in the battle.

The other division of the horse fell upon Sir William Cunningham's troops, but they most bravely fought it out unto the last man. Had my Lord Mountjoy done the like, we could not, questionless, have lost one quarter so many of our men. In this we could not charge the enemy, because our own horse were betwixt us and them; and they fell on with them, both horse and foot, so close, that we had not time to give fire on them, if we durst, for [fear of] shooting our men. So all those regiments that were in the rear were cut off, and some of those that were in the battle; and the enemy still came on, charging even unto the bridge, where some commanders made a stand, thinking the soldiers would have done the like; but they, being disanimated, chose, many of them, rather to commit them-

selves to the mercy of the waters, than to turn upon the enemy, whereby most of these commanders, being not seconded, were slain : and had not Sir Edward Conway's regiment, which marched in the van, marched back again to the bridge, the enemy had absolutely slain us all, for they were once gotten over the bridge ; but this regiment coming, beat them back again, and made them confusedly to run away.

There were left certain musketeers of every company to guard the bridge ; the rest went to de l'Oye ; many to the water-side, thinking to find boats to carry them on board ; but my lord duke had been there before, and given strait command, on pain of death, that no sailor should carry any on board until the next morning ; that they should have order about ten o'clock.

The same night our men set fire on the bridge, which being burnt down, they came all away, leaving many a hurt man behind them ; which, doubtless, had they been brought off and well looked unto, they might have recovered again.

This night my lord duke went a shipboard, and on the morrow came ashore again.

Rev. William Bedell¹ to Sir Robert Cotton, Bart.

Herningerth, near Bury, 10th December, 1627.

Salutem in Christo Jesu.

I received this day, by Sir R. Askew, a note from you, wherein you claim a promise of me of the Psalters of David, written by Ricemarcus, in the Irish hand, and a roll of the evidences of Bury Abbey. For the former of them, it is yet in the hands of the Lord Primate of Armagh, to whom I sent it by Dr. Ward, while he was late in England ; and, at my being with him at Drogheda this summer, he told me he did esteem it even for the translation sake, being not the vulgate, but according to the Hebrew verity. And in truth, sir, besides the use I conceived to

¹ Afterwards Bishop of Kilmore.

be had of the tables and calendar in the beginning, being in hand, with something about the ecclesiastical compt, that poor kingdom, as I am persuaded, may have special use of it in the new translation of the Psalter, which may be well countenanced with a monument of that antiquity, justifying in the not resting on the vulgate even by the opinion of these times.

For the roll of evidences, I think you mistook me. I mentioned a roll containing an extract of the privileges and bulls granted to Bury Abbey, wherein there is reference to sundry books of their evidences. Sundry of these I have seen; but the extract that mentions them, I have myself. It is in paper of no great antiquity, but of good use. It begins much about the Conquest, at P. Alexander the Second, and continues successively to Calistus the Third, what time Johannis Boon was abbot, but written much later, as I guess by the hand. The occasion was, as I gather by the notes here and there in the margin, the writing of their privileges and bulls in a book.

This roll is that which I think you mean; which for the public good you shall command at any time. And it may be of good use to one that write our ecclesiastical history, and to show how the see and court of Rome encroached upon the jurisdiction of bishops and princes by exemptions, appropriations, provisions, and collations, pensions upon churches, &c., granted to religious houses, with indulgences to those that visited their churches, exempting their lands from payment of tithes, with many other like particulars, at my next coming to London, (which I mind, by God's grace, before my going into Ireland) you shall by the thing itself perceive.¹

¹ Sir Robert Cotton was the oracle of his day, on almost every subject of antiquarian interest; but more particularly on our ancient deeds, charters, and letters—and this caused him to be frequently referred to for his opinion or advice, by those who sought the same field of inquiry; on which occasions he invariably afforded every information in his power, accompanying his services with a liberality in the disposal of the vast collection of manuscript materials that had accumulated in his hands, which should ever render him an example to antiquarians of all denominations.

Mr. Beaulieu to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, 12th December, 1627.

Since my last, written the last week, the king hath so dealt with the aldermen and companies of London for a loan of £120,000, upon an engagement of his majesty's lands unto them, which they shall possess and enjoy till they have their money repaid back, as that they have yielded already to the one half of his demands; and it is thought they will not stick much for the other. Besides this, there is a speech of many privy seals, that are preparing to be served for a much greater sum upon the gentlemen of the country; but this I cannot speak of as yet, but as of a rumour.

My Lord Carlisle, who is preparing for his journey, must have £20,000 impressed, and other charges there wants not to employ more money than there is at this time in the exchequer.

We hear out of France that the king there hath dismissed the English prisoners without ransom, and sendeth them for a present to the queen. Whereupon it is intended to use the French prisoners here, which are but ten gentlemen, with the like courtesy. But another English prisoner hath been taken in France, whom they do not intend, I doubt, to send back so freely; to wit, Mr. Walter Montagu, who, in his return from Savoy, was intercepted in Lorraine by the Lieutenant of Bourbonnois, and carried to the Bastille at Paris; whereat the Duke of Lorraine is much offended, and hath sent one of his blood to the queen mother to complain thereof, and to procure the said gentleman's releasement. But he was denied the request, with this answer, that it had been done by the king's command.

It is reported that all the soldiers that were left in the Fort of Rhé have been made gentlemen for that service by the King of France. But another report there is, that the Count de Schomberg and Monsieur de Thoyras should be fallen together by the ears about the government, or at least about the wines and salt of the island.

Two of the king's ships, the Rainbow and the Bon Ad-

venture, have been wrecked by the storm in the haven of Plymouth, and divers merchant ships with them. And the like fortune, we hear, hath befallen five Dunkirkers, which were lost upon their own coast.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, December 15, 1627.

On Thursday last week, December 6, the common council of London concluded the city should lend his majesty forthwith £120,000, for which and other debts formerly due they should have £21,000 annual rent of the king's lands really put in their hands. The East India [Company] have already lent £30,000, all which together makes £150,000.

On Thursday last week, Sir John Saville, of Yorkshire, was made comptroller of the king's household.

The French king hath freely sent all our English prisoners as a present to the queen, without ransom, and their charges defrayed to Calais. He told my Lord Mountjoy, when he offered a round sum for his ransom, that he should pay no money, but should only send him out of England two couple of hounds. Yet it was said they were stopped at Calais, because the French king would not admit the French prisoners taken by the duke to come home in like manner freed and defrayed by us, but would have them stay till they paid their ransoms; and that, therefore, our king would have his at Calais to undergo the like. Some say the French king and queen mother have written to the queen, that they will give admittance to an ambassador from hence, thither to treat of peace, and give hopes of a surer and better peace than ever. And, indeed, it is said they have opened *de novo* Calais to our English trade, in emulation, perhaps, of Dunkirk, where, and in all parts of Flanders, the arch-duchess permits the English freely to trade, such as do first obtain her pass; and some say, who trade there, they are kindlier used than any of our nation hath formerly been.

Mr. Walter Montagu, son to my lord president, is now

prisoner in the Bastille at Paris. He was the second time sent of some important message to the Duke of Savoy, and in his return, though he touched no part of France, was, by a troop of French horse, fetched off, either as he passed through Le Franche Comté or through Lorraine. And this is the reason why the Earl of Carlisle's journey, (who else, within eight days, should have gone ambassador to the Duke of Savoy and state of Venice) is awhile stayed, either in regard of some letters that have been taken from Mr. Montagu, and thereby secrets discovered, or because the French will lay for him also.

There is no hope of a parliament, notwithstanding the duke, as three of the bedchamber then present report, was lately twice upon his knees before the king for that end, saying, that if himself were found worthy of death, let them not spare him. His grace is exceeding kind to all soldiers, hears all their complaints, and gives them full satisfaction.

Sir Henry Spry, one of the commanders of the Isle of Rhé, since his return, is dead. His lady, being much joyed at his coming home, but seeing him dejected, and not to answer her with like gratulation, asked him how he did; to whom he answered, "Though I am returned safe, yet my heart is broken;" expressing great sorrow and compassion for those commanders, who were slain in his sight, and, as his modesty made him say, all far superior unto himself, and thus died within a day after.

The titular Dr. Lamb is committed to the Gate-house, about causing a Westminster scholar to give himself to the devil, of which and some other of his fellows drawn in by this same like practice, is much but diverse report. Dr. Craig, the king's physician, is also committed about some words before his majesty, contradicting the duke about the number slain at the Isle of Rhé. Mr. Pine, of Lincoln's Inn, is still in hold; and likewise (I hear, saith mine author) a grocer's prentice is in Newgate, about papers found about him, of his own handwriting, of pretended revelations of much evil to befall the state and kingdom.

Soubise is here, and some other Rochellers, but what answer they have is not known.

Mr. Beaulieu to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, December 19, 1627.

As I wrote unto you, by my last, that the King of France had dismissed the English prisoners without ransom, he took that care, especially of the Lord Mountjoy and of the other gentlemen that were carried to Paris, as he sent a French gentleman along with them, one Monsieur de Meaux, the governor of the Pont de Cé, to conduct and bring them safe into England, who was so careful to see them well treated all the way, and in all places of their journey, as that they were everywhere very kindly used. They arrived here three days since, the said gentleman being come over with them to deliver them as a present from his master unto the queen, and he likewise hath been feasted together by the greatest. The rest of the English prisoners, being of the ordinary sort, and the greater number were to be sent away from the Island of Rhé, and there were shipped, as we hear, above a fortnight ago, though as yet there is no news of their arrival.

It is thought Monsieur de Meaux is come with some private message hither from the queen mother, tending to an overture of peace, which, by this kind of proceeding towards the prisoners, and other demonstrations of theirs, it appeareth they would be glad to have with England, so as the Protestants in France were left out of the treaty, and howsoever they speed with it, it cannot but serve their turns to propound it; for the jealousy which those of the religion, and especially of the town of Rochelle, conceive thereof, with whom, we hear, they use the same policy by the like underhand motions of peace, either to win them from us, or to put us in jealousy of them. But I do not find that all these artifices will prevail to keep us, or draw us back, from the good resolution which is taken to assist those of Rochelle, for whose present relief there are four hundred soldiers and five thousand quarters of corn preparing to be sent them with all possible speed, notwithstanding the report we hear of the joining of twelve Spanish galleons with the French fleet to block up that haven, and hinder the coming-in of any relief unto them.

Here the king is in hand to build twelve small ships and two galleys, for service near to coasts, better than the great ships can afford in those places.

I am sorry the loss is confirmed which the king hath suffered, of two of his ships, besides twelve or thirteen others that have been cast away by storm in the haven of Plymouth. And so likewise is the loss of eight of those Dunkirkers that were upon the coast of Sussex, which have been wrecked by the like occasion on their own coast. The States have also lost in the same manner one of their men-of-war, and divers of their merchant ships; and more shipwrecks, I doubt, we are likely to hear of, upon those last storms.

Mr. Montagu is still kept in the Bastille, and a man of his hath been hanged because he was a Frenchman.

Concerning the bargain with the Londoners, it was in a manner broken off on Friday last, upon some difference touching the assurances that were proffered them, they being departed with great discomfort from the king's presence, and he as ill satisfied of them. But they the next day repaired to the duke, and made up all again, so as on Monday the contract was absolutely concluded in the council between his majesty and them, whereby they are to lend presently £120,000 to his majesty, and he on his part doth pass over an assurance unto them of so much of his lands in Cornwall as shall satisfy them by the yearly revenue thereof, not only for the interest of the said sum, but also of a former debt of £160,000, which they had lent heretofore, till they be paid the principal of the same.

Amongst other projects to procure money that hath been revived, is one which was heretofore set out of making every knight bachelor pay £15 for a white riband, that their order should be honoured withal. But whether, or how, that project will proceed, I do not know. Of the privy seal, for the present, I do not hear any farther speech.

Mr. Beaulieu to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, January 2, 1627-8.

Besides the respect of the holy days, I was hindered by a particular and grievous occasion from writing unto you the last week, God having taken away my only child from me, and that in her mother's absence, who was gone a few days before upon an urgent occasion into Lancashire, which hath made my loss the more heavy and grievous unto me. But the same hand that struck me hath comforted me, and taught me how to bear it with patience. This was the sorrowful occasion of my silence. Neither, as things stand now with us, was there any great subject afforded then of writing unto you all matters, being, as it were, at a stand, till we can see farther into the necessity and into the means of making new preparations and attempts. Only those hath been undertaken, as I signified by my former letters, to provide for the present relieving of Rochelle with some men and provisions, which are for the most part ready laden, and ready to depart in eight or ten ships, which shall be wafted thither with as many men-of-war. And for those poor families of the isle of Rhé, which came over with the fleet, and lie in great numbers at Plymouth, and thereabouts, there is a charitable gathering a making here, to relieve them in some sort.

Of any other preparations intended for a new armada, I do not as yet hear; neither see how it can be brought to pass, till God sends us better means.

Mons. de Meaux, who brought back my Lord Mountjoy, hath been kindly entertained here at court, both at my lord duke's table and others of the greatest; but it was taken unkindly at his hands that, after his grace had proffered and drank to him the King of France's health, he would not return the like respect to the king our master (pretending that he durst not do it, and go back into France), but only to the queen, who did much check him for that omission; yet he was courteously dismissed, and went away three or four days ago. And now Dolbiers is sent after him with the French prisoners, which

are in this manner returned back, without paying any ransom.

For the rest, of the English prisoners that have been long since embarked, as we hear, at the island of Rhé, to come over, they are not yet arrived, whether being stayed by the wind or by some other occasion.

The king's ships, being cast away by storm in the haven of Plymouth, have been recovered, and with very little cost will be repaired.

The Danish ambassadors are at length departed hence for France, and have been already this sevennight at Dover, expecting a commodious wind for their passage.

Mr. Beaulieu to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, January 9, 1627-8.

For matters of news, I make no doubt but you have already understood of the new year's gift which the king hath bestowed upon the prisoners for the loan, by giving them their liberty everywhere, which, together with some other observations, begins to intimate some hope of a parliament; yet, without a parliament, there is a project made of a new fleet, which is intended to be set out this spring, if a peace be not procured afore that time, which some think to be a working underhand; and towards the compounding of this new army, I hear 800 horse will be had out of Holland. In the mean time, Spinola hath taken a journey into Spain, which cannot be, as it is conceived; but for the resolution of some great matter:

Those of the Rochelle, with the help of the sea, hath beaten down the estacade which the King of France had begun to make, for the stopping of their haven; and with thirty or forty small ships of theirs, that are roving upon the sea, they continually take some prize or other. The king's army lieth still on the land-side before the town, and himself in a little town some three leagues from, called Surgeres, where it is thought he doth resolve to continue, because he hath sent for part of the parliament of Paris to reside at Poitiers, where two men of Rochelle, that were taken thereabouts, have been lately hanged; in re-

venge whereof those of Rochelle have since killed above thirty of them of Poitiers.

Mons. de Thoyras is removed from the government of the isle of Rhé, which the cardinal was desirous to get into his hands, and in lieu thereof hath been made governor of Bretagne (that place being vacant by the death of Mons. de Themines), and marshal of France; so as he is not ill rewarded for his services done in the fort of Rhé.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, Saturday, January 12, 1627-8.

An intercepted letter from the archduchess to the King of Spain was delivered by Sir H. Martin at the council-board on new-year's day, where the duke, being present, said he would show it to the king; and so he went to his majesty, followed by my Lord President, the Earl of Dorset, and some others. The letter being unsealed, the king himself read it, being written in French, importing, that the catholic king should make a sudden war against England at this time, for seven reasons:—1. His majesty's want of skill to govern of himself. 2. The weakness of his council, and their want of courage in not daring to tell him the truth, nor advise him for the best. 3. General want of money. 4. Disunion of the subjects' hearts from their prince. 5. Distraction of the subjects one from another. 6. Want of munition. 7. Neglect of fortifications upon the coast. But, because the archduchess writes commonly to the King of Spain in Spanish, and sends her letters overland, it is thought this was some handsome invention, shuffled by somebody among some maritime papers, that must, of course, come to the judge of the Admiralty's hands. Howsoever, it is said that Spinola is gone to Spain, which may give suspicion of some project not like to be for our good.

On Thursday night the queen's surgeon,¹ a Frenchman, was apprehended for a spy; and papers of intelligence being found about him, his house was presently ransacked,

¹ M. Aubert, surgeon to Henrietta Maria.

and more papers and letters found there : so he is committed close prisoner to the Marshalsea. On Tuesday also it was resolved in council, that the horse of twenty shires should be mustered on Hounslow Heath the 7th of April, in the presence of his majesty.

There are newly sent down into Essex, to be billeted upon that county, divers companies of Irish soldiers, and others, as namely—250 to Chelmsford, and thereabouts; and 300 to Colchester, Braintree, &c. Some antiquaries say, there was never seen, since the Conquest, such internal stations of soldiers, especially strangers, as now of Irish and Scots, till this time.

All the gentlemen recusants of the loan are set at liberty by order of the Board; some few not being quite clear, because they will not pay the pursuivant's fee. Some are so audacious as to hope after a parliament, saying that the duke is forthwith to be reconciled to my Lord of Bristol, and also to the Earl of Arundel; and that an edict of oblivion between the king and the subjects shall be published.

The citizens have made ready £60,000 of their £120,000, but with the selling or melting of the plate of their halls, and are now contriving of assurances of land.

On Saturday last, the Templars chose one Mr. Palmes, son to Sir Guy Palmes, their lord of misrule, under the name of lieutenant; who, the same night, to gather up his rents at ten shillings a house, broke open, late in the night, all the doors, not only in Ram Alley, but also in Fleet Street, all along from Ram Alley to Temple Gate—namely, of such as would not open to him; and from those that would not pay he took a distress. This being complained of to my lord mayor, on Sunday night last his lordship, with a guard of halberdiers, marched that way, and about eleven at night found my Lord of Christmas in a tavern, who for a while made brave resistance; but at last, being knocked down with halberds, he was conducted, together with some of his company, to the Compter. On Tuesday, Mr. Attorney, being of the same house, fetched them out of the prison with his own coach, and carried them to the court, where the king himself re-

conciled my lord mayor and them together with joining of hands. The gentlemen of the Temple being this Shrovetide to present a masque to their majesties, over and besides the king's own great masque, to be performed in the Banqueting House by an hundred actors.

In the last week's news it is said, moreover, that my Lady Purbeck, being hotly pursued to do penance, was rescued from the officers by the Savoy ambassador, her next neighbours, and has escaped their clutches.

That my Lord Percy is upon marrying with my Lord Salisbury's daughter,¹ £11,000 being her portion; but my Lord of Northumberland is averse, because her grandfather² was his greatest enemy.

Mr. Beaulieu to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, January 16, 1627-8.

By my last, I touched the imprisoning of one Aubert, a Frenchman, the queen's surgeon, for some letters which were found about one Macalla, a tailor and a Scottishman born, as he was upon his passage at Dover, together with other letters of an Englishman that had heretofore been servant to the French agent Du Moulin, who hath likewise been committed, and, as I hear, is like to be hanged for his labour. But the particulars of these informations are not yet come to my knowledge.

The French prisoners are now at length upon their departure, amongst whom one Monsieur de Beaulieu Pressac, who was gone upon his word into France, to procure his own and the others' ransom, being lately come back, hath been very much caressed and respected in this court; which hath made many to conceive that he was dealing underhand for a peace. But the strait unions which the king on the other side hath contracted with those of Rochelle, and the strong assurances which he hath given them upon good terms of his protection, do show the contrary. Besides to supply both of men and provisions, which is now

¹ Anne, who was subsequently married to Algernon Lord Percy, afterwards Earl of Northumberland.

² Robert, Earl of Salisbury.

already for them, his majesty hath been pleased to grant them a general gathering of money through this island.

Dolbier, who was first appointed to carry back the prisoners into France, is now designed for Holland and Germany, there to raise and bring hither some companies of horse to the number, as I hear, of 700, towards the compounding of his majesty's army. A Mr. Hawkins, my Lord of Holland's man, shall go in his room with the said prisoners. For my Lord of Carlisle's intended journey is now suspended, if not altogether broken off.

By his majesty's commandment, there is a general muster of the trained companies of horse, to be made on the 21st of April. Whereas, those of sixteen shires are to meet before his majesty himself on Hounslow Heath; and on the 7th of May both the horse and foot are to perfect their musters.

Mr. Montagu is released from the Bastille, and sent into Lorraine.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, January 19, 1627-8.

Some scraps came after I had sent, partly new, partly correcting what before we heard. As that of Mr. Palmes's Christmas game, who was not himself the lord, but the lord of misrule's lieutenant sent out on twelfth eve late in the night, to gather up his rents, limited at 5*s.*, a house in Ram Alley and Fleet Street. At every door they came to they winded the Temple Horn; and if, at the second blast or summons, they within opened not the door, their lieutenant's voice was, "Give fire, gunner!" his gunner being a robust blacksmith, and the gun or petard itself being an huge overgrown smith's hammer. My lord mayor, being complained to on Sunday morning, said, he would be with them about eleven o'clock of the same night willingly, that all that ward should attend him with their halberds; and that himself, besides those that came out of his house, would bring the watches along with him. In fine, his lordship, being thus attended and advanced as high as Ram Alley, forth came with their swords, and

in their hose and doublets out of the Temple-gate Mr. Palmes and some other gentlemen. One bade him come to the lord mayor; he answered, my lord mayor might come to him: but in fine they agreed to meet half way. And, as the interview of princes is never without danger of some ill accident, so it happened in this; for first Mr. Palmes, being quarrelled with by some halberdiers for not putting off his hat to my lord mayor and giving cross answers, the halberds began to fly about his ears, and he and his company to brandish their swords. At last, being beaten to the ground, and Mr. Palmes sore wounded, they were fain to yield to the long and more numerous weapon. My lord mayor, taking Mr. Palmes by the shoulder, led him to the Compter, and thrust him in at the prison-gate with a kind of indignation; and so, notwithstanding his hurts, he was forced to lie among the common prisoners for two nights.

On Tuesday, the king's attorney became a suitor to my lord mayor for their liberty; which his lordship granted upon condition Mr. Attorney would undertake they should the day following submit themselves to his lordship. On Wednesday, after dinner, Mr. Palmes, &c., came to my lord mayor's house, and there, in the presence of Mr. Attorney, Mr. Recorder, and six aldermen, acknowledged his fault to his lordship and craved pardon; and besides promised to repay the money he had gathered, and to do reparations on broken doors. Thus the game ended.

In the end of last week was much talk, that my Lord of Canterbury was on Tuesday, this week past, to be at Lambeth; which same made another argument of their hopes of a parliament.

One Alderman Chamberlaine was, about Tuesday the former week, committed to Newgate by my lord mayor and his brethren, and his gown, before his commitment, taken off his back, because he absented himself out of town this Christmas without asking leave; and before he had paid his loan, and likewise for jeering the whole bench, as they took it, at his return. So they mean to cashier him out of their order; and to elect another in his room, and yet to make him pay his loan, nevertheless. The company

of saddlers also, being between twenty and thirty persons, are by the same authority committed to the same prison, because they refuse to pay their share in the loan.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, January 26, 1627-8.

The States' ambassadors are come, some say, to move for a reconciliation between France and us, and some say to treat for their own neutrality, if enmity still continue.

On Thursday, Mr. Edm. Bell comes to my chamber from London, and tells me, that on Wednesday the last week Sir John Corbet fell sick and died on Saturday following, being not yet returned from London; that he was buried on Monday; and that he was so told, by one that affirmed he saw him put into the ground. I heartily wish it were not true.

Mr. Beaulieu to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, January 30, 1627-8.

Yesterday night, we had news, by one that came in fourteen days from Rochelle, that the King of France was still going on with his estacade with stonework, and, having bought a good number of ships filled up with stones to have sunk them in the deepest place of the channel between the two branches of his estacades, is come short of both those designs, in that the said stonework hath been for the most part dissolved by the violence of the sea, as the former was which was made with stakes. And for the ships, the Rochellers, being gone out against them with the shallops, and being favoured with the wind, have sunk or driven most of them on shore out of the pretended place of the channel, so as hitherto, God be thanked, the passage remaineth free for them to go in or out. Nevertheless, the king goeth on still with the estacade, and hath fifty or sixty sail upon that coast; whereof we hear part are Spanish, to block up the haven, and hinder the coming in of supply from hence, which for that cause hath been reinforced with more men-of-war.

My Lord of Denbigh, who hath the conducting of this fleet, is to depart hence to-morrow. The Duke of Rohan, in the mean time, prospereth in Languedoc, and hath twice beaten the Duke of Montmorency, and taken divers places.

Here we are projecting another great fleet of 100 ships of war for this summer; and for to compass the money are here many new impositions, accesses, and privy seals, that are come to abroad, especially upon king's servants, the officers of courts, and those that refused to pay the loan.

There are 2000 Scottish more to come out of Scotland, 2000 Irishmen out of Ireland, and 1000 horse out of Germany, towards the compounding of the army, which is intended to be of 20,000. Here is a great rumour of the great preparations, that are making in Spain for these parts or for Ireland, and the Marquis of Spinola's going into Spain makes the design more suspicious. So as, sir, you may see we want no work for our privy counsellors, who do scarce miss a day in all the week without sitting, so strictly doth the king tire them and himself (who sitteth there almost every day) to that public work.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, Candlemas Day, February 2, 1627-8.

Because the last news I heard is the best, and I am loth to keep you too long from it, you shall have it in the first place; namely, that after many projects consulted upon, as base coin, whereof every man to receive a share, and an impost of two shillings or two and sixpence a chaldron upon coals, which on Monday last was said to be concluded upon: all such devices are now dashed, and on Tuesday night a parliament resolved upon, to begin on Monday, the 17th of March, which I pray God to speed, and direct all their consultations for the public good, setting aside all sources of contention and disagreement.

On Wednesday afternoon, the Duke of Buckingham's grace had an heir, or a young Earl of Coventry, born; for joy whereof, the bells of Westminster and St. Martin's in the Fields rung full merrily.

My Lord of Denbigh, being ready to depart, with some twenty-five sail of ships, for the relief of Rochelle, is now stayed, upon intelligence that sixty or seventy sail of ships, great and small, whereof thirty are great Spanish galleons, do block up that harbour; and our fleet shall be reinforced and made stronger for that service.

It is said, the gentlemen pensioners were commanded to have their horses and men in readiness with themselves, against need require, to attend his majesty; and the guard to exercise themselves in shooting off muskets, that they may be prompt therein when his majesty shall make use of them.

It was written also, last week, that his majesty had then for a fortnight together continually sitten in council about the public affairs; so that no private business could all that time, nor yet then, be heard. The event of which long consultation you heard in the beginning of my letter.

Mr. Walter Montagu is rendered back into Lorraine, and so upon his way homeward.

One of my Lady Purbeck's gentlewomen, being asked where her lady was, who is pursued to do penance, answered, "she knew not, except her ladyship was gone to the Isle of Rhé, now called the Isle of Rue;" for which untoward speech she is laid by the heels.¹

That Sir William Courtney, on Tuesday, the last week, struck Sir Andrew Gray in his own chamber, for reporting he had brought a message from the duke to make a stand with the army upon the edge of the marshes; whereas, Sir William Courtney denies any such message, and allegeth the duke bade him to march to the bridge without any intermission. Sir Andrew requiting him with his iron fist,² Sir William drew his sword (Sir Andrew not knowing where his was) and gave him a great cut on the arm. But as Sir Andrew took his cloak, then lying on the table, to ward off the blow, his sword dropped out, which he recovering, ran Sir William Courtney through the wrist, out at the elbow. All this was testified at the council-table

¹ It is impossible to convey a better idea of the little respect at this period shown for the liberty of the subject than can be gathered from this incident.

² He wore gauntlets.

to have happened after Sir A. Gray had desired Sir William Courtney to go with him to the field, this being fit place to expostulate in, and there promised to make it appear he had reported no falsehood. All my authors seem to lay the blame upon Sir William, as having violated the points of a soldier too foully.

Sir John Corbet died of the smallpox, as the physicians imagined, some whereof appeared coming out upon his back about some four hours before he died.....the doctor would by no means let him bleed, which, nevertheless, some hold might have saved his life; but it is a ticklish point. He was cheerful and without fear of death, even till some hours before he died. His body after death was red and swart upon the face and hands. Sir Thomas Crew, understanding of his death, went immediately to the court of wards, and procured the wardship of his son for old Mrs. Corbet, before his death was divulged, or any friend of Mrs. Corbet had moved him, or been with him. It was kindly done.

Mr. Beaulieu to Sir Thomas Puchering, Bart.

London, 6th February, 1627-8.

You know the resolution of a parliament, for the which the writs are already gone into the farthest parts, though at the same time there be also privy seals going out, but only to the king's servants and officers of court. There were letters also drawn to the sheriffs for the gathering of a great sum, with promise that it should be repaid with the moneys that should be granted by the parliament; but I hear those letters are stopped.

The supply of corn for Rochelle is now upon going in twelve or fifteen ships, which the Rochellers had sent hither to buy corn, whereof they stand in great want; which they hope with a favourable wind to bring into Rochelle, notwithstanding the sixty sail that the King of France hath before their haven, whereof twenty-seven are Spaniards. Herewith, sir, I send you a copy of their manifest.

The isles of Jersey and Guernsey are in some fear and danger. A ship of the Dunkirkers hath been cast away upon the coast of Sussex. The States' ambassadors, that

have been so long expected, to mediate a peace with France, are now arrived, and there are two others gone, or upon going into France, to the same end.

My Lord Wimbledon is sworn a privy counsellor. The Duchess of Buckingham is brought to bed of a son; and so is my Lady Strange.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, February, 1627-8.

My pupil Isham brings me news from young Mr. Puckering, of Emanuel College, that he had received news of his father's (Sir John Puckering) death: he died last week, and his son heard not of it till Friday.

The other news I heard by Saturday's letters, as follows: that his majesty himself was present in the council when the parliament was resolved on; and that thereupon was greater appearance of joy in the court than hath been at one time since his majesty came to the crown. That, nevertheless, there were going out a huge number of privy seals (even together with the writs of the summons) for setting forth a fleet by the 1st of March. For it is said, if Rochelle were not relieved within six weeks, the French king would be master thereof. Though some thought the Spaniards would not be so unwise as to hazard their fleet upon a lee-shore in mid-winter; yet, if that failed, the French king had another stratagem to effect his design almost unavoidable; namely, by sinking six old ships laden with stones and rubbish in the narrow of the channel, to clog up that harbour.

I have received just now this day's letter, but for want of time send you the contents, only a word or two.

A report that the French and Spanish fleet investing Rochelle were in the last tempest a great part driven ashore and wrecked. The French prisoners that went hence with Mr. Hawkins, their conductor, not heard of, and feared to have then perished.

Sir William Balfour employed by our king's majesty to buy and transport 1000 Dutch horse from the Low Countries hither.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, February 16, 1627-8.

Concerning the wreck I then mentioned of the Spanish and French fleet before Rochelle, I hear no more, and doubt it is too good to be true. They are in all eighty ships, whereof twenty-seven are Spanish galleons, twenty-three of Dunkirk, the rest being French, and of our detained English. This is related by a spy arrived here from thence this day fortnight, which got through that fleet by a stratagem of torches set round about her, and false fires upon the hatches, and so making a semblance in the night, as if he had come to fire them.

The French prisoners, who, with their conductor, Mr. Hawkins, departed a little before the storm, were feared to have been perished; but it is said now they were driven upon the coast of Flanders.

Sir Thomas Glenham, attempting to pass, with some others, from Calais to Dover, was taken by the Dunkirkers, and carried to their den; but the King of France, understanding thereof, challenged them for his prisoners; and so they are, or shall be, set free again.

A Dunkirker of some 170 ton, with eighteen pieces of ordnance, and sixty odd men in her, was violently driven in that hideous storm upon the Sussex shore, and the men all saved and imprisoned about the country.

The ships, as I told you, are lately stayed in all the parts of England, by reason, as is said, of foreign preparation against us. For at Dunkirk there is a fleet of eighty sail (whereof twenty great ships) almost ready. And the French king hath upon his coast arrested one hundred sail of Hollanders for his service; besides, it is said that, understanding of the States purpose to send ambassadors to mediate a peace between them and us, he did them thanks for their love, but desired them to forbear, because he knew well enough how to right himself. It is added, that he builds very many flat bottoms of forty or fifty tons a piece. Howsoever, the States' ambassadors intended hither are arrived at Gravesend.

Sir William Balfour, a Scottishman, and a great com-

mander of horse in the Low Countries, is employed by his majesty thither with bills of exchange of £30,000, some say £45,000, to buy and transport hither for his majesty's service, 1000 horse. And Dolbier, a Dutchman, some time belonging to Count Mansfield, is joined in commission with him. Sir William Balfour, before he would undertake this service, desired the duke he might plainly tell him the general voice of the people;¹ namely, that the sending for these horse was for some design of his to oppress their persons, and subvert their liberties. Whereunto the duke is said to have replied, that he wished the plague of God might light on him, if he intended any such matter.

Those horse, and the greater muster at Hounslow Heath, you will not believe how some are troubled at; because, forsooth, it is coincident with the time of parliament. Lord help us; or, else our peevishness and jealousies will at length undo us.

I suppose you know how true it is, that Privy Seals by thousands are gone out into all shires, and letters with them to the lieutenants and justices of peace in each shire, for levying a sum of £200,000, as is said, before the session begins.

On Tuesday was sennight, the king and queen were entertained at supper at Gerbier's, the duke's painter's house, which could not stand him in less than a thousand pounds.

Sir Humphrey Forster, a Berkshire gentleman, having won lately, at the Groom-porters and at his own house, about £7000, made a solemn vow, he would never touch dice or cards more, paid his debts, and put out £3000 to interest, at seven in the hundred.

All this we had last Saturday; I can add nothing to it, but that it is the general talk here, that the parliament is adjourned to the 25th of April. You know we have chosen our knights, and that our neighbour, Sir John Carleton, is one.

¹ There seems something omitted here: it should read, "he desired the duke plainly to tell him if the object of the intended commission was that declared by the general voice of the people."

Mr. Beaulieu to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, February 20, 1627-8.

I could not write unto you the last week, by reason of a journey that I made then to Gravesend, to welcome the States' ambassadors in the king's name, and to bring them to the town, in lieu of the master of the ceremonies, who was hindered to come abroad by the sickness of his wife. They were received at Tower Wharf by my Lord Wimbledon, and brought to their lodging, in thirteen coaches; but, because the king's coach, through the oversight of some under officer, was not amongst them, which they took to be a disparagement unto them, it was thought fit, for reparation of that fault, that they should make a second entry, and be fetched as in great formality as they were at the first time, from the Tower, in the king's coach, which then came, accompanied with that of the queen, and with the rest that first attended them; and so they had satisfaction given them in that point. On Sunday, they had their first audience given them publicly, by the king and queen, (because his majesty is going this day towards Newmarket, to remain in the journey till the 15th of March) they had another private audience. It seems, by the care that is taken to entertain them with all kindness and respect, that the subject of their coming will not be unwelcome to us, which is to mediate, if it may be, a peace and reconciliation between these two kingdoms; to which end, their masters have also sent two other ambassadors into France. But, for my part, I think Rochelle will be found a great rub and a hard knot in the business. That poor town holdeth out still, in expectation of our supplies, which hitherto has been delayed by the want of money. But my lord duke is now going to Plymouth, to take speed therein.

This day, by one that came from the Isle of Rhé, we hear, that the Spanish ships, which were twenty-eight in number, have, out of discontentment, left the King of France's fleet, and are gone back to their country; and that the king, upon some supposed occasion, is gone to

Paris, whereof, we suppose, the true one to be the jealousy which he hath of Monsieur's actions there.

The French prisoners that were thought to be cast away are safely arrived at the town of Sonce, in Flanders, and the English prisoners, that have been so long a coming, are also now arrived at the Isle of Wight.

Now, sir, concerning the parliament which was put off to the 28th of April, to give time, as it seemeth, to the privy seals, and to the letters to work, that were sent to the sheriffs, the same, upon new consideration, hath been since altered; for the said letters and privy seals have been revoked, and the parliament brought again, as it was first appointed, to the 17th of March. Of the cause of that resolution, I will not take upon me to judge; but I hope the minds are not worse than the proceeding; and that this assembly is not called but with a full purpose to make that use of it which the public necessity requireth. And I make no doubt, sir, but to have the happiness to see you here, as you were the last time upon that good occasion, where I will be ready to render you my best service.

I make no doubt but you have heard already how that, upon a jealousy conceived by those of Essex, that the sheriff, who was come to Stratford Layton about the country business, had a purpose there to make a secret election for the parliament, of some persons that they did not like. All the freeholders, to the number of 1000 to 1200, repaired presently thither, to have hindered that choice, and to have named Sir Francis Barrington and Sir Harbottle Grimstone in their places. But, finding that the sheriff had not yet received the writs, they all repaired back to their several houses.

The ports are yet shut up, and no ships suffered to go to sea. There is a speech of some new privy counsellors to be sworn; but I shall be better able by my next to let you know their names.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, February 22, 1627-8.

Here is come, together with two ambassadors from the States, a gentleman from the King of Sweden, who says, that prince makes, against the next summer, the greatest preparation for war he can possibly. Also, that the jesuitical faction of Poland, endeavouring to elect to that crown the younger Prince of Poland, begot of a second marriage with this emperor's sister, are promised, from the emperor, an army, under the Archduke Leopoldus, for effecting the same; which coaction, rather than the gentlemen and palatines of Poland will endure, they will choose the King of Sweden.

It is said, these last ambassadors from the States have obtained letters of instruction from the French king, to treat of a peace between both crowns; and, if true, it is supposed the French demands are haughty enough. Those ambassadors, at their first arrival, were much neglected; staying almost a week at Gravesend before they had any person of quality sent to conduct them to London. The reason said to be, because they mean to speak plainly and homely to somebody.

One Dr. Lewis,¹ of Oxford, offers an apology to the press of the action of Rhé, where he was his excellency's chaplain, but now master of St. Cross; but somewhat basely demands £50 for his pamphlet, and refused £24, upon my author's knowledge.

On Thursday was sennight, his grace's second heir was christened at Wallingford House, the king and the Earl of Suffolk being godfathers, and the queen godmother, by her deputy, the Duchess of Richmond. His majesty came thither apparelled in a long soldier's coat, all covered with gold lace, and his hair all gaufred and frizzled, which he never used before.

The parliament was, on Sunday was sennight at night, resolved in council to have been adjourned till the 28th of

¹ William Lewis, created D.D., at Oxford, in May, 1627. He was chosen provost of Oriel College, in 1617, but afterwards resigned that place. Besides the mastership of St. Cross, he was prebendary of Winchester. He died July 7, 1667.

April; and, on Tuesday, a proclamation, drawn by Mr. Attorney to that effect, but now dashed again, and the parliament to hold on the day first appointed.

For those letters for levying two subsidies, before the parliament, dispersed to the lieutenancy of shires, they succeed not. Unto my Lord of Northampton, lord lieutenant of Warwickshire, those gentlemen gave a flat denial, saying, his lordship promised they should be paid the last loan at the next parliament, and would he now draw them to a new one before the parliament? The Earl of Banbury, lord lieutenant of Berkshire, having promised the country there, in case they would, as they did, come roundly off with the late five subsidies, he would never move them to any thing unparliamentary again, hath nobly performed his promise in this, refusing and sending back the letter directed to him, alleging his promise as a reason thereof.

We have two or three Comedies at Trinity this Shrovetide, and the stage there built to that purpose. But of the king's coming, it was not talked of, when I wrote last, and if it be, it is but private and accidental. Some say, he will be here on the Monday; and my Lord of Durham,¹ that was, is now in town, as is thought, for some direction to that purpose. Yet others doubt whether he will come or not. But our doctors will be with you on Sunday at Newmarket, and so bring us home more certain news. They say, the sword, &c. is not come down, which is the reason his coming is doubted of, being supposed he would down the first time in some state.

I pray God the parliament do well. I am afraid.

Mr. Beaulieu to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, February 27, 1627-8.

Since the king's departure for Newmarket, my lord duke hath been going every day to Plymouth, to give order to the supply of Rochelle, but hitherto he hath been stayed by the want of money.

In the mean time we hear they are brought to the low

¹ Dr. Neile, translated to the See of Winchester, in 1628.

ebb in that poor town, that they now eat their bread by proportion and measure; for although the Spanish are gone back into Spain, yet there are still above forty sail of the French remaining before that haven.

Mr. Beaulieu to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, March 5, 1627-8.

Still the news we have at this present is, that my lord duke went yesterday towards Plymouth, having sent thither aforehand a good sum of money, to hasten the departure of the supply for Rochelle, which is now brought to that pass, that the poorest sort there begin to eat starch bread; the King of France having, in a manner, stopped up the haven by the sinking of sixty ships, filled up with stones, in the midst of it, so as it is hard for any ships now to go in and out. Nevertheless, since the sinking of the said ships, there came out a bark from thence thither, which doth encourage the supply to go, and taketh upon her to bring it in safe; the king having not above twenty-two ships left before the haven, nor above six or seven thousand men on the land-side, which are commanded by the Duke of Angoulême, and the Marshals Bassompierre and Schomberg, under the direction of the cardinal; who, at the king's departure from the camp, was made generalissimo both by sea and land, the Duke of Guise being gone discontented from the fleet.

He that took Mr. Walter Montagu hath had 18,000 crowns given him, and been made lieutenant for the king in the government of Champagne, for his reward.

His majesty will abridge his stay at Newmarket, and be here back, or at Theobalds, on Saturday next.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, March 8, 1627-8.

I know not whether the court, of late so near¹ you, may not have anticipated much of our news.

The commissioners for the king's navy, who have had

¹ Newmarket.

charge thereof these eight years, at the least, and were said to save the king yearly £20,000 of his charges, and yet to have it in better case than formerly it was, by building yearly two new ships and repairing two old ones, are now, nevertheless, discharged. And it is to be governed by four officers, as it was in former time, viz.—Sir Sackville Crow, treasurer; Sir Guildford Slingsby, comptroller; Sir Thomas Aylesbury, surveyor; and Mr. Fleming, clerk.

The Council of State, among other things, since his majesty came to Newmarket, have consulted about raising excise upon all things that belong to back or belly. And one of the most active lords sent to N. N. for arguments against it, who promised to send him strong ones.

There was a turbulent election of burgesses at Westminster, whereof the duke, being steward, made account he should, by his authority and vicinity, have put in Sir Robert Pye.¹ It continued three days; and when Sir Robert Pye's party cried "A Pye! a Pye! a Pye!" the adverse party would cry "A pudding! a pudding! a pudding!" and others, "A lie! a lie! a lie!" In fine, Bradshaw, a brewer, and Maurice, a grocer, carried it from him by above a thousand voices: they passing by also Sir Robert Cotton, and besides Mr. Man, and Mr. Hayward, who were their last burgesses; because, as is said, they had discontented their neighbours in urging the payment of the loan. It is feared, saith mine author, because such patriots are chosen every where, the parliament will not last above eight days.

The merchant-strangers (whose privy seals in the late proclamation are reserved) do universally refuse to pay, saying to the collectors they will petition to the Lords; and if they cannot be eased, they will yield their bodies to prison.

Thus our letters on Saturday; and that there died one of the plague in Whitechapel. I hear but little since. The duke, they say, went to Plymouth.

They have chosen in Essex Sir Francis Barrington and Sir Harbottle Grimstone.

¹ He was a dependant of Buckingham's.

We have not yet chosen here either town or university, nor do I hear when we shall.

After I had sealed, I received a letter from a friend, which confirms the duke is gone to Plymouth, to see the navy made ready for Rochelle. He is to return in six days; yet he assures the fleet cannot be ready in six weeks. That the Earl of Carlisle is going presently for Venice, to excuse the opening of their packet, which that State takes in high disdain. He sent me a copy also of Sir Robert Cotton's advice, given to the Lords of the Council at their desire (at what time this parliament was intended), how all things might be accommodated.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, March 15, 1627-8.

Our news last week was but little.

That the duke was gone on Tuesday, that week, to Plymouth, to see the navy made ready with all speed for relief of Rochelle; but some, who could judge, affirmed it could not possibly be made ready in six weeks, beyond which time, it is said, Rochelle cannot hold out. They talked at York House, when he went, that he would return within six days; but they were not believed, and some conceived he might, perhaps, go further either before; or, if he did return, presently after. We hear nothing yet of his return. That on Monday was sennight, the day before he went, he was personally present a gossip¹ with the Lord Steward and Countess of Montgomery, at the christening of my lord keeper's grandson. That the same day was hot speech of the queen's being quick with child; though since it is thought (saith mine author) that if she be, yet not above two months gone. That there was news, that some of the billeted soldiers at Banbury set the town on fire; or, as others say, that through some wilful unruliness of theirs it was fired, and a greater part of it consumed to ashes. That Sir Thomas Brudenell is a Baron,² and Sir Paul Banning Baron of Horsley, in Sussex, and

¹ Godfather.

² Elevated to the peerage by the title of Baron Brudenell, of Stanton Wivill; and on April 20, 1661, advanced to the earldom of Cardigan.

Viscount Sudbury, in Suffolk,¹ which cost them much; yet it is said the latter offered a round sum to have wanted his honours. That Sir Edward Coke was chosen, as you say, knight, not only for Suffolk but for Buckinghamshire; but like to serve for neither, having a writ to sit in the upper house on a woolsack.

You hear of our famous election in Essex, where Sir Francis Barrington had all the voices of 15,000 men, those who say least, and were there, 10,000 freeholders, with more passages than I have time to tell you. I pray God this parliament be well advised. Some talk desperately; and others of as high a course to enforce money, if they yield not.

I send you Sir Robert Cotton's advice given to the Lords upon command. It was given before this parliament was fully resolved upon.

Of our comedies I hear little one way or other, only some actors extraordinarily commended. I was not there—I could not endure to sit and wait so long.

We had an anatomy lecture upon a boy of some eighteen years old, Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and twice a day the two last days. I was once there, but I saw it so ill recommended that I came no more; for it was in the Regent House, upon a table, where only half a score of doctors could come to see any thing, standing close by the table, and so hindering others from seeing which was the chief; for I can read as good as they can hear, and with more ease. It will be next time, I hope, better; for our new doctor will have one every year. We talk here, that the body was begged before any one was condemned; which, if true, was very absurd.¹

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, March 21, 1627-8.

The duke returned on Saturday last hither from Plymouth. That evening the Earl of Lincoln was discharged

¹ Sir Paul Bayning, Baron and Viscount Bayning.

² An anatomical lecture on the human body was, in the early portion of the seventeenth century, of rare occurrence.

from the Tower; the next day after kissed the king's hand; and on Monday rode in his robes and rank before his majesty to parliament.

On Sunday, at ten in the night, came a gentleman of the lord keeper's, and brought the writ to the Earl of Bristol for his free coming and sitting in parliament. But in regard of his hodily indisposition and long keeping in, he hath not been there; but every day takes the air in his coach, and on Monday next intends to go to the House.

The Lord Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Lincoln are also said, notwithstanding their letters of ease, to be sent for. Dr. Laud, Bishop of Bath and Wells, (shortly to be Bishop of London) preached before the king and parliament, his discourse tending all to peace, especially at home.

Yesterday, the House of Commons appointed Dr. Burgess, the elder, to preach before them, before the communion, Sunday fortnight. This week they do but settle the House. On Monday they mean to fall to business.

On Wednesday afternoon the House of Commons presented Sir John Finch, the recorder of Canterbury, their speaker, unto his majesty, sitting with the Lords in their robes in parliament. It is said the speech of the speaker so affected his majesty, that, beyond all example, the king sent unto him a goodly horse and furniture, estimated at a £100; and besides £1,000 in money to keep his table withal.¹

This day sennight, at Clerkenwell, were nine gallants taken in a fair hanged vault, with their trinkets, (for seven of them are found to be Jesuits, or priests) together with their library of books, valued at £400, which moves men to think it was one of the Jesuits' colleges. The suspicion of them grew by the abundance of meat the poor women that dwelt thereabouts bought and provided, which occasioned the search.² At first they resisted with store

¹ The speech from the throne with which the king opened the parliament he had been forced to call, is about the most curious king's speech on record. It appears to be alternately cajoling and threatening, but is so clumsily put together that it was most unlikely the persons to whom it was addressed would either be coaxed by it or frightened.

² Sir John Coke declared unto the House of Commons on Monday that it was discovered by intercepted letters to be an anti-parliament, appointed to begin by

of arms and weapons, but the sheriffs being sent for, those aforesaid were taken, though some are said to have escaped.

On Monday, St. Patrick's day, at Witham, in Essex, where are billeted some of the Irish soldiers, they after their country manner wearing in their hats red riband crosses, an untoward boy made one tied to a dog's tail, and put him therewith out amongst them; who, thereupon enraged, fell violently upon the inhabitants, whereby, it is said, there were on both sides between thirty and forty slain.

Extract from another letter from London, of the same date.¹

There attended upon his majesty in their robes on horseback through Westminster but 21 barons, 33 viscounts and earls, 14 bishops. The Earl of Rutland carried the sword, the Earl of Kent the cap of maintenance, the duke led the spare horse after his majesty; and behind his grace the Earl of Suffolk followed his band of pensioners, who, on foot, and bare-headed, environed the king's person; and the Earl of Holland led his companies of the guard, being the greatest that ever I saw in this court.

The House of Commons was both yesterday and to-day as full as one could sit by another. And they say it is the most noble, magnanimous assembly that ever those walls contained; and I heard a lord estimate they were able to buy the upper house (his majesty only excepted) thrice over, notwithstanding there be of lords temporal to the number of 118. And what lord in England would be followed by so many freeholders as some of those are?

Yesterday they appointed some general committees, consisting of the whole body, naming the days of the week for each: the first about religion, the second about courts of justice, the third concerning grievances, and the fourth about trade. They ordained also other petty committees:

commission from Rome upon St. Joseph's day. But Sir Dudley Digges answered he could not believe it; that it was not the Jesuits, but some malevolent persons about the court, who wished ill to the Commons, that disturbed our parliaments, &c."—*Note of Mr. Mead.*

¹ Probably from Mr. Pory.

one for the privileges of the house, a second to decide controversies about electing knights and burgesses, and a third to examine certain letters presented to the house by Mr. Coryton, knight of the shire of Cornwall, in one whereof he was charged by the deputy-lieutenant of that county not to stand for that place, because, having been a recusant of the loan, he stood out of grace with the king, and might, in obtaining the place, be an occasion of great prejudice to his country. The effect of these letters was this morning reported to the House, and thereupon a pursuivant into Cornwall to fetch up the delinquents. One letter of these was written by my lord steward, lord warden of the Stanneries, unto his deputy lieutenants, requiring them (as, saith mine author, it was related to me) to call the colonels, lieutenant-colonels, captains, and the trained bands, all armed, to be present at the election. And letters of this kind, they say, there were a dozen at least to some other countiees. This his lordship's letter hath hitherto been suppressed from the public notice of the House by the working of some of his lordship's friends, and by good reason, lest, by urging so eminent a person, he might make a party for his own defence in the upper house, and a breach between both. I hear also, but cannot affirm of certainty, that Sir Thomas Wiseman, of Essex, is, by way of preventing the House of Commons, committed to the Fleet by the lords of the council about the like business.

Yesterday also they fell into consideration of the general fast. Sir Robert Philips said, among other things, that after the former that it pleased God to deliver us from the plague; but now for our sins, there being so many plagues of the commonwealth about his majesty's person, we had never more need of such a humiliation than now. Sir Edward Coke held it also most necessary, "because," said he, "there are, I fear, some devils that will not be cast out but by fasting and prayer."

They are now at this very instant sitting in their general committee upon the grievances. In the forenoon, a bill was presented to the House by Sir Edward Coke, the effect whereof was, that no man, upon what cause or crime soever,

should be held in prison above three months; and that at two months' end or before he should be called to his answer, but if he should not be converted within three months, that then he should have his Habeas Corpus of course, and there be released.

Sir Edward Coke hath also ready drawn into the form of an act of parliament. an explanation of the Magna Charta, which he means ere long to present to the House, to the end that every man may know how far he may be touched in life, liberty, lands, or goods.¹

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, March 22, 1627-8.

I forgot to tell you last week of a letter shown at the election at Chelmsford, which was directed to the high constable of Tendring hundred, (where Harwich stands) requiring him to bring as many freeholders of that hundred as he could to Chelmsford, there to give their votes with two such for knights of the shire as the major part of the justices of the peace should nominate unto them, by order from the king and council. It was subscribed with three justices of the peace's hands, Sir Thomas Wiseman, Sir William Maxey, the third I have forgotten. The high constable brought it to Chelmsford, and showed it to Sir Harbottle Grimstone over night, Sir Francis Barrington, and other gentlemen present. They advised him, being the original, to keep it, and to show it in parliament as an unparalleled violation of the subjects' liberty. And I hear it is already a business entered there, and some cast out of the House for offering to excuse it in behalf of the said justices their friends. I pray God it brings no more in than should be. This story Mr. Pory, being at the election with the Earl of Warwick, told me last week, himself being present when the letter was delivered, and saw it and read it.

¹ Recent events had rendered this explanation highly necessary.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, March 28, 1628.

The Earl of Bristol on Saturday last went to parliament, and every day since. On Sunday he was at church, whither before he might not come. The lord archbishop returned from his confinement on Tuesday last to Lambeth, and goes to parliament, as also the Bishop of Lincoln.

At the fast on Saturday shall preach before the Lords the Bishops of Exeter and Salisbury, and before the Commons Dr. Balcanqual, Dean of Rochester, and Mr. Jeremy Dyke.¹

His majesty is earnest for present supply, in regard of the exceeding great danger the state of Christendom is in. Whereunto the House of Commons show themselves willing, but desire first to have religion confirmed together with their ancient liberties: first, of their goods, which have been lately violated by levies upon them without parliament, and still continued by billeting soldiers amongst them. Wherefore they desire to know and be assured whether they have anything of their own to give. Secondly, the liberties of their persons, which have been also injured by imprisonments without cause, and employments in foreign service, they desire hereafter to be more secured.

On Tuesday they offered a petition to his majesty for the restraint of Popish recusants, and the execution of the law against priests, Jesuits; for a better and more faithful watching of the Cinque Ports, examining and searching such ships as come unto them, that no papists or popishly suspected may any longer be in offices of trust, lieutenants, or deputy lieutenants, or the like. That the laws for the confinement of recusants may be better looked into in respect of the manifest danger that appears by neglecting thereof. His majesty told them he would first take advice, and give them answer this day come sennight.

The last night, a little after midnight, burst forth a fire in the White Tower (as it is called), near unto the storehouse, wherein there was 120 lasts, that is 440 barrels of

¹ Vicar of Epping, in Essex, to which he was instituted in March, 1609. He died in 1639.

gunpowder. It was occasioned (it is said) by a kindled match negligently left, and caused much fear and crying for a while; but after some hours' labour was extinguished, and, God be thanked, an extreme danger escaped.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, March 29, 1628.

On Saturday the main business for the supply for the king's and kingdom's necessities were in great agitation; a very free day of speech, yet was his majesty said to be very well pleased therewith, because it so timely tended to a resolution in what he most desired. All expressed their willingness and readiness to give his majesty a most bountiful aid, but desired first to be assured they had aught to give, and that their goods were their own, otherwise their bounty would not be worth gramercy; the rather because the late proceedings gave them just cause of suspicion that their ancient liberties in their goods and persons were no longer acknowledged; and such like.

There was motioned also and discussed, both then and on Monday, a resumption of the crown lands, and, which is more, a resumption also of honours, the number of our nobility being grown too great for the commonwealth, and for the ancient and due esteem of their order, which by this excess is vilified.

On Monday, likewise, the committee for religion brought into question Montagu, Mainwaring, and especially Cosin, for his prayer book, whereof they say there are three editions, those he gave in private differing from that which came forth in public. They were very hot against him, and no matter if they trounce him. He is a most audacious fellow, and I doubt scarce a sound protestant, and takes upon him most impudently to bring superstitious innovations into our church; as, for example, Dr. Ward¹ showed me a letter he had from Durham, wherein were these words. "Mr. Cosin was so blind at even song on Candlemas day that he could not read prayers in the Minster with less than 340 candles, whereof 60 he caused to be

¹ Samuel Ward, D.D., Master of Sidney College, in Cambridge.

be placed about the high altar. Besides, he caused the picture of our Saviour supported by two angels to be set in the choir upon Bishop Hatfield's tomb.¹" A great part, if not most of the evil in our church at this present, is supposed to proceed from him, and those he wholly ruleth, as my Lord of Durham, who admireth him.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, April 12, 1628.

Our last Saturday's letters tell us, that news came to court on Sunday before, that the Earl of Denbigh was gone to sea with a fleet from Plymouth, with men and ammunition, and in specie, very much wheat, for the relief of Rochelle.

That the Bishop of Norwich² drew for the Upper House an excellent petition to his majesty, to put the laws against the papists in execution, which was by both houses carried to his majesty, on Wednesday, the last of March; but answer deferred till yesterday was sennight, the fast eve, when his majesty, say our letters, graciously granted it.

That there was an ill business said to the King's Attorney about an addition ready formed, and space purposely left, to be added to the judgment against the gentlemen in the end of Michaelmas term; a long clause never yet heard of, and contrary to the form of the King's Bench, tending to the ruin of all our liberties. Some say, it was already written; others, that it was indeed commanded, but upon the news of a parliament caused a while to be suspended.

When the business of this sentence of the judges against the Habeas Corpus was first argued, the Solicitor made some defence thereof. All which was, by Mr. Selden, fully proved to have been done contrary to the laws.

The danger of the fire at the Tower was thus occasioned. On the king's day, the ordnance about the Tower being, according to the custom, discharged, and lastly those of the White Tower, he that gave fire, going

¹ It is evident from this that the recent religious movement in the Church in the direction of Rome is not near so new as it has been thought.

² Dr. Samuel Harsnet, translated to the Archbishopric of York in the latter end of this year, 1628.

his way, forgot the linstock, with the burning match in it, which he had laid on a cannon's carriage, which thereby took fire, was burnt, melted the lead; the fire took hold on the timber under the lead, which at midnight flaming out, was first seen by a boy on Tower Hill, who called up the neighbours, and gave notice to the warder. So, blessed be God, was timely quenched; otherwise, it had come to the powder, whereof there were two or three hundred barrels in a room below; it would have ruined the Tower and buildings a great way off.

The upper house have questioned the Earl of Banbury, for taking place of eight earls that were before him. The king's request is, that because he hath no issue, they would permit it, and it shall be no precedent; but, if they will not, they may do their pleasure.

I have told you no more parliament news, as it was then, because I am informed of the success of things since; the relation whereof will make amends for all; and is as followeth; and upon sufficient intelligence, though I look to have all things more fully by this day's letters.

That on Friday, the eve of their fast, late in the afternoon, beyond the expectation, the House of Commons gave his majesty unanimously, without all conditions, five subsidies to be paid between this and Christmas. The report whereof being carried by Sir John Coke to his majesty, his majesty expressed wonderful joy and contentment, saying, he was more happy than any of the kings his predecessors; and then, asking Sir John Coke farther, by how many voices he carried it, he answered, *but by one voice*. Whereat his majesty, being at first somewhat appalled, Sir John replied, his majesty had so much the greater cause of joy the whole House being so unanimous, as they made all but one voice: at which, they say, his majesty wept.¹

The duke, at the council-table where his majesty was present, humbly besought his majesty to grant all the parliament's desires, since he was persuaded they intended

¹ This excessive emotion is singular: the anecdote, however, has been put forward by Rushworth as authentic history.

nothing more than his and the kingdom's good. And, the better to accomplish it, desired his majesty to withdraw his favour from him, seeing he was willing to sacrifice himself, his honours, and all he had, for the good of his country. And whereas he understood that his plurality of offices was excepted against, he was contented to give up the master of the horse to the Marquis of Hamilton, the warden of the Cinque Ports to the Earl of Carlisle, when he returned from his ambassage. And, for the Admiralty, he desired only to be admiral in time of peace and at home; and that the council and house of parliament might appoint another for all services at sea. This was within few hours after the grant of the subsidies.

Secretary Coke, returning to the House to signify his majesty's gracious acceptance, and that his majesty promised he would deny them nothing that any of his predecessors had granted them for their liberties and immunities, &c., he added, also, for a conclusion, what service my lord duke had done in so earnestly beseeching his majesty to give the House full content in all their desires. For which, Sir John Eliot stood up and checked him, saying, that they, in what they had done, had no respect to any but his majesty alone; nor intended to give any man content but him only, nor regarded any man's acceptance but his. Nor knew they of any other distinction but of king and subjects, and therefore accounted of the great man no otherwise than as one of themselves, who, together with them, was to advise of means to give his majesty contentment in provision for the good of the kingdom. Whereunto many of the House made an acclamation, "Well spoken, Sir John Eliot!"¹

On Monday last, the duke made a speech in the Lords' House, which, they say, gave much contentment.

The king is willing to yield to all they desire in behalf of their liberties; only stands somewhat upon the point of billeting of soldiers, which he sees not how he can yield

¹ Disraeli, who is largely indebted to these letters for the materials of his "Commentaries on the Life and Reign of Charles I.," says, that this patriotic burst "marks the heated state of the political atmosphere." We rather think it shows that the effect produced by a long course of arbitrary misconduct and wilful neglect was not to be obliterated by a few fair words.

to, as they desire, without some main diminution to his prerogative; yet it is supposed they will agree.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, April 13, 1628.

This letter enclosed was written time enough, but sent too late. And, that I may make some amends for disappointing your expectation at the usual time, I send with it the sum of the king's speech, and the duke's, formally printed. I wonder whose wisdom it was in this sort to publish them thus checkmate together. In my letter, I told you, that the duke, in his speech, made offer of resignation of some of his offices upon this occasion. I saw it written from court, and from the relation of one that kept the council-table door all the while. But you shall find no such matter in this printed speech. It may be, it was not thought fit. The rest I wrote about the subsidies and the consequents, you may correct by what I have inscribed into the cover of the speeches in the same words. I received it yesterday from Mr. Pory, whose intelligence, I suppose, is more perfect than that I had before, depending upon memory.

A copy of part of Mr. Pory's letter, enclosed in the preceding one of Mr. Mead.

Both speeches, of the king and duke of Buckingham, were delivered at the council-table in the afternoon of the same day, April 4, when the five subsidies were granted in the House of Commons.

The same morning, before the grants, his majesty had sent a most gracious message to the House by Sir John Coke, signifying that he would confirm all the privileges of the subject, contained either in Magna Charta, or elsewhere, in any manner as they should think good to propound. Which message so prevailed with them, as they presently fell into the discourse of giving, which ended with the grant aforesaid. To this message is reference in the duke's speech.

The next morning, being Saturday, April 5, Sir John

Coke made report of both these speeches to the House of Commons.

Which being done, Sir John Eliot stept up, and taxed Mr. Secretary for intermingling a subject's speech with the king's message; whereby he might seem, said he, to derogate from the honour and majesty of a king. Nor could it become any subject to bear himself in such a fashion, as if no grace ought to descend from the king to the people, nor any loyalty ascend from the people to the king, but through him only.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London April 18, 1628.

On Monday, April 14, came into the House of Commons a grievous complaint against the Earl of Suffolk, for saying to Sir John Strangways, "*What, will not your House hang Selden?*" Quoth Sir John, "But we must hear him, ere we hang him. But why would your lordship have us hang him?"—*Suffolk*. "Because he hath raised records, and gone about to put enmity between the king and people." This being complained of in the House, and testified by Sir John Strangways and Sir Christopher Neville, they presently sent Sir Robert Philips, with a message unto their lordships, accompanied with the greater part of the body, to lay down their complaint, and crave justice against the same earl, and their lordships' speedy answer. So they were prayed to retire into the Painted Chamber, till the Lords had considered of an answer. This done, the Lords instantly called the Earl of Suffolk into question, who swore, upon his honour and soul, that he spake no such words. Whereupon a committee was chosen to consider further of it, and examine the testimonies. It was interpreted a general injury to all the House. And yesterday morning, April 17, Sir John Eliot was sent to the Lords to make an ample declaration thereof, and a second time to crave justice. His news back again to the Commons was, that the Lords would in convenient time give them answer.

On Monday also, the House of Commons had audience

of his majesty, where Mr. Speaker made a fine preamble speech, and afterwards read their most humble petition for unbilleting soldiers, and delivered it unto his majesty. On Tuesday, Secretary Coke made a motion in reference to that petition, that the House would proceed one step farther in assistance of the supply. His reason was, the billeted soldiers must either be disbanded or employed; neither of which his majesty could effect without money. And, therefore, if they would have their petition speedily granted, let them give sudden assurance of the money. Sir Thomas, in satisfaction of the secretary, put them in mind of the order of the House, which enjoined them they should proceed with the supply, and the redress of grievances *pari passu*.

Then they proceeded to the discussion of martial law, which hath continued this forenoon, to the end; that as in the former debates they had cleared the freedom of persons and propriety of goods; so in this they might protect life and limb against lawless violence, especially in time of peace.

On Wednesday afternoon, there was a conference between the Lords and Commons for clearing the two first questions concerning persons and goods. Mr. Attorney pleaded for the king, and Sir Edward Coke, Mr. Littleton, and Mr. Selden for the Commons. Their first theme was the explanation of Magna Charta by seven acts of parliament, where it was plainly demonstrated by Mr. Littleton, that in the clause *nullus liber homo incarceration nisi per legem terræ*, that *per legem terræ* was meant by way of process; which is a part of the common law; or by the judgment of man's peers, and so not by an illegal or reasonless warrant. He answered all Mr. Attorney's exceptions so clearly, as he replied not one word. Whereupon, Mr. Littleton craved judgment of the Lords upon a *nihil dicet*. Mr. Selden's theme being the application of his twelve precedents taken out of the records of the Tower, King's Bench, and Exchequer, against Mr. Attorney's objections, he wiped them so clean away, as Mr. Attorney had no more to say, but *I refer myself to the judgment of the Lords*. Yesterday, also, they had another con-

ference about the same subject: whereof, to omit other things, Sir Edward Coke framed an epilogue, directing his speech first to the Lords, calling to their remembrance how much noble blood had been anciently spent in defence of the subjects' privilege contained in Magna Charta; yea, more blood, as one author saith, than runs in one time in all the veins of the kingdom. Secondly, to the bishops, putting them in mind what dreadful curses, excommunications, and anathemas, their predecessors did thunder out upon themselves and all their successors, as likewise upon the people and their posterity, in case of the violation of that sacred charter. Thirdly, to the judges, calling to mind their oath of giving sentence according to the law and the king's oath at his coronation, of maintaining the laws.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, April 19, 1628.

On Monday, April 7, four of the House of Commons, Sir Edward Coke, Sir Dudley Digges, Mr. Selden, and Mr. Littleton, made a report to the Lords at a conference in the Painted Chamber, of the opinion of the House, or rather a declaration of their judgment concerning the freedom of the person of a subject, which contracted into one proposition, was, that no freeman ought to be imprisoned, either by the king or council, without a legal cause alleged. Sir Dudley Digges, as a gentleman of the short robe, was to open the cause out of his history, human learning, and common reason. Mr. Littleton to back him with cases in law; Mr. Selden with records; and Sir Edward Coke with reasons out of the profoundest part of his profession. Towards the close of his speech, having spoken all the while before the lords temporal, he found out a text of Scripture for the lords spiritual to ruminare upon, viz., Jesus's speech concerning St. Paul's Acts, xxv. 27, "For it seemeth to me unreasonable to send a prisoner, and not withal to signify the crimes laid against him."

On Wednesday, April 8, the day was spent in the House

of Commons in censuring a certain lawyer of the House, being a recorder of Wells, for levying money for billeting soldiers, who confessed he knew it to be against law; but his excuse was, he durst do no otherwise, having been not long since so terrified at the council-table about resisting saltpetre men. Whereupon, one Mr. Sherland, of his own coat, stood up and said, "I must fling the first stone at my brother. A coward he is, and was always a knave, and knowing the law, and not having the heart to do according to it, is worthy double punishment. Nor was it fitting," said he, "that any such white-livered creature should sit in the council, but only such as durst speak what they thought, and according to their conscience." Therefore, his opinion was he should be expelled the House. In fine, after many speeches, *pro* and *con*, he is only suspended the House for the time being.

On Friday, April 10, in the morning, those four speeches of Sir Edward Coke, Sir Dudley Digges, &c., were reported by four lords to the residue of their lordships in the upper house. My Lord Bishop of Lincoln, being one of the four, reported Sir Edward Coke's, which he did, they say, most fully and naturally, both for matter and form.

The same day, in the morning also, was a message delivered to the House of Commons from his majesty by Secretary Coke, that they should sit all days without intermission. Sir John Eliot replied, that the House had been infinitely wronged, in that this message had been kept from them two whole days, viz., ever since Tuesday, when it was given in charge to somebody from the king. Therefore, his motion was, that neither matter of supply nor any other matter of moment might be concluded on till Thursday in Easter week, when those which were gone out of town, which were an hundred at least, would be the greater part returned; which was yielded to by all the House. Besides, there was an order of the House made, that the Commons do humbly yield to this message of his majesty, *salvis semper privilegiis*; for they have power to adjourn the House when they please; whereas, the Lords, in that point, are merely at the king's command.

On Saturday, Easter-eve, the case of the subjects' per-

sonal liberty was argued in the upper house, where, on the king's behalf, both forenoon and afternoon, pleaded Mr. Attorney against both it and against the declaration presented by those four reporters of the House of Commons unto the Lords. Mr. Attorney, as it was told some of the Commons, was pleased to slight their arguments and precedents, and to say they were but lamely excerpted out of the original records, and made more against the Commons than for them; which, when Sir Edward Coke understood, he affirmed to the House, upon his skill in law, that it lay not under Mr. Attorney's cap to answer any one of their arguments. Mr. Selden said he wrote out all the records with his own hand out of the Tower, the Exchequer, and the King's Bench; that they were truly and properly inferred; and that he would engage his head, Mr. Attorney, in all those archives, should not find any more precedent of that subject. Mr. Littleton said, the precedents were delivered unto him; and that he delivered them unto the Lords, and examined every one *syllabatim* by the records; and that whosoever said they were mutilated or imperfectly taken spoke falsely.

The same day came a startling message from his majesty, delivered by Sir John Coke, which was this:

“ His Majesty's Message to the House of Commons, on Easter-eve, April 12.

“ His majesty having long since given timely notice unto you, both of the pressing occasions of the time, and his supply, and having since that, with long patience, expected some fruit of your promising beginning; but finding unexpected stoppage, tells you, he now looks for a present proceed in his affairs, laying by all unnecessary delays; and willing you to conceive, that though he was pleased to have all go hand in hand, yet he meant not the one should be an impediment or interruption to the other, and that time should be spun out unfruitfully. Therefore, he wills you to take heed you force him not to make an displeasing end of that which hath been so happily begun.”

Upon the delivery of this message the second time, (for the House so would have it) all being sad and silent, up starts Sir Francis Nethersole, intreating licence of the

House, that he might report his last night's dream, with protestation he would truly deliver it. Whereat some laughing, he told them kingdoms had been saved by dreams. So they bade him go on. And this it was, according to the perfectest relation, I heard thereof. He saw two goodly pastures; a flock of sheep in one of them; and a bellwether alone in the other; a great ditch between them both, and a narrow bridge over that ditch. Here the speaker, with good words of his person, mildly interrupted him, saying it stood not with the gravity of the House to hear dreams. But the gentlemen desired to hear it out: so on he went. "Sometimes," said he, "the sheep would go over unto the bellwether; sometimes the bellwether to the sheep. On a time, both met on the narrow bridge, and the question was, who should go back, since they could not both go on, without danger to be overthrown in the ditch. One sheep gave counsel that the sheep on the bridge should lie on their bellies, and let the bellwether go over their backs. The application to the House.

Sir John Eliot thanked the speaker for interrupting the gentleman, saying it became not the gravity of that House to hear dreams told. Sir Edward Coke said, that of dreams there were three kinds, prophetic, natural, and fantastical, and that this dream was of the third and last sort. Sir Thomas Wentworth said, he would let pass the dream, and speak to his majesty's message, which he did. His motion was, that a selected committee might be chosen out of the House presently, to frame a dutiful answer to his majesty's speech; Sir Edward Coke, Sir John Coke, Sir John Eliot, Sir Thomas Wentworth, and Mr. Selden, being named, and the speaker called out of the chair that Mr. Littleton might take his place; and so the House proceeded, by way of committee. At five o'clock, they returned to the House, and reported what they had done; their answer consisting of nine heads, but what I yet hear not.

On Monday, April 14, morning, their answer and petition for unbilleting soldiers was delivered to his majesty by the speaker.

On Tuesday, April 15, his majesty gave a gracious answer to them, at Whitehall; bade them go on cheerfully without distrust, telling them he would confirm their privileges, in as ample a manner as the best kings had done; and that he would give a speedy answer to the particulars in their petition when he had more considered of them.

The House desired of the king, that he would not conceive any displeasure against them for any particular speeches; and they doubted not to give his majesty all good satisfaction in everything; and that this parliament should be a blessed parliament. Which God grant!

My Lady Purbeck hath brought her case into the upper house, and it is thought she will go near to get the sentence of the high commission reversed there, which in case she do, they can never bring her in trouble for the same cause again.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, April 28, 1628.

What news we received on Saturday you shall find enclosed, and with it the king's speech on Monday before. I saw also the keeper's preamble, and the petition for unbilleting of soldiers; but because they were long, and I had no scribe to write them, I have not furnished you with them. And, alas! what delight could you find in reading them, when you must hear, that since that time all is grown woful and desperate? I have not yet seen this day's letters; yet all that come from London tell us that the parliament is not like to hold above three or four days; that the greater part of the Lords stand for the king's prerogative against the subjects' liberties; that my lord president made a speech in the upper house on the king's behalf, endeavouring to show the inconveniences which might follow in having our king's so tied. Against whom the Earl of Arundel stood up, confuted him, and made a public protestation against him and the rest who were of the same opinion, concluding that those liberties which now they would betray, were those which had cost so much of their predecessors' blood to maintain them; and for his own part, he was resolved to lose his own life, and spend

his own blood, rather than he would ever give consent to the betraying of them. Of his part were fifty lords and earls; Shrewsbury, Essex, Sussex, Warwick, Lincoln, Devonshire, Bristol, Say, Clare, Bolingbroke, Mulgrave, and the more ancient nobility. The bishops were divided, Canterbury, Norwich, and Lincoln for the subject. The Bishop of Lincoln, much commended for what he spoke on behalf of the subject, acknowledging he had once offended in the days of his late master, in standing for the prerogative to the prejudice of the subjects' liberties; for which he now desired forgiveness, professing that henceforward neither hope of greater preferments, nor fear of the loss of what he presently enjoyed, should make him do or speak against his conscience.

The attorney, they say, motioned that the liberties they claimed might be moderated, and so his majesty and they should sooner agree. But Sir Edward Coke said that the true mother would never consent to the dividing of her child. Whereat the duke swore that he did as much as intimate the king, his master, was a whore; but he replied his grace misinterpreted him.

The House of Commons, I am told, sat four days without speaking or doing anything; and are resolved to grant no subsidies till his majesty give them assurance of the continuance of their liberties. A gentleman told me, that they desired of the king but to confirm that of their persons with a mitigation, namely, that none should be imprisoned above two months before they came to their answer. That they offered to pass the five subsidies, which were formally agreed upon by a general committee, to be paid between this and next Candlemas: and to add, moreover, whatsoever further supply should be necessary: and yet his majesty refused them. Whereupon Sir Edward Coke said publicly, that no king of England ever had the like offer made him by his subjects; nor ever King Christian denied his subjects so reasonable and equal request. That they meddled neither with favourite or courtier; but only desired a confirmation of the liberties granted and enjoyed by their predecessors for many ages: and should they not obtain it?

Thus I have related such particulars as have been brought to town this week, but have as yet not seen any letter; and therefore cannot warrant the truth of those circumstances and passages to have been just in that manner I relate them. But the general voice is, all is nought, and no hope of good conclusion left, which God if it be his blessed will avert, and beyond our hope bring us out of those woful straits, though we can see no way of deliverance from them.

PS. I saw one short letter even now. The general all nought, as I have before related.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

May 3, 1628.

Of the happy agreement and resolution of the Lords propounded to the House of Commons in a conference on Friday last, I hope you have heard somewhat ere this, as a cordial to that extreme fear and anxiety wherewith all men's minds were possessed, even of the Commons themselves, until this conference recomforted them. Thus, having let you see this great business entering into safe harbour, you will with the more delight hear what tempestuous passage it endured before it could attain thereto, which were as follows :

On Monday, April 21, the House, upon the report of the two conferences had with the Lords on Thursday and Friday before, did fully and absolutely, by an universal consent of the whole House, without so much as one negative voice to the contrary, a second time conclude, that the subject ought to be imprisoned neither by the King nor the Lords, nor by any other authority, without a legal cause alleged. 2. That no man's goods ought to be taken from him without his consent. Which unanimous act of theirs they signified to their lordships by message on Tuesday morning, April 22, adding withal, that although they were well persuaded of their lordships' good inclinations to these propositions of theirs, yet they thought it fit to entreat their lordships, that if any doubt or scruple did yet remain in any one of their lordships' minds, they would

make it known in a conference, and the Commons would give them full satisfaction.

The message came to the Lords while they were in eager debate of the very same business, which continued from nine in the morning till six in the evening. Of the like tongue-combat was never heard in the upper house. It was performed by nine peers of the side that stood for freedom, and by nine others of that party, that to please one man, laboured might and main to make themselves and their posterity slaves. But to the end, that nothing might be binding or conclusive, they called my lord keeper off his woollack, and converted the House into a grand committee. On the free side, the Bishop of Lincoln used the greatest freedom, giving neither way nor respect to those of the opposite party, no, not to the duke himself; the king only he mentioned with humble reverence. "In brief, by his wisdom and courage," saith mine author, "he won that day immortal renown." My Lord Say did likewise rarely on that side. So did the Earl of Bristol. And when the ducal party would have metamorphosed the committee into a small House, to the end that they must have gone to voices, my Lord Say¹ challenged that all of them that would so ignobly stand against the most legal and ancient liberty of the subject, should together with their name, subscribe their reason to the vote, to remain upon record unto posterity; which motion daunted them all with a lively sense of their ignominy, which should have been stamped upon their fame to all posterity. Had they proceeded then to votes, it is supposed the greater part would have exceeded the better by ten voices at least, that is to say, 66 to 56. Yet, had it come to voices, indeed no man knew how a man's mind and conscience might have carried him. All, which this vehement work patched, were three hypothetical propositions: 1. If the king do commit a man, the authority is good. 2. If the king do commit

¹ "I hear by others, that he and another required first, that themselves which were to the number of fifty, for the liberties might make their protestation before they should put it to the voices; their protestation to be upon record, lest otherwise they might be swallowed up in the greater part of votes, which the Bishop of Lincoln showed them could not be denied them by a precedent upon record of my Lord Montacute, who in the change of religion required to have his protestation recorded, though against the whole House."—*Note of Mr. Mead.*

a man upon just cause, the manner is good: with this reservation, always saved harmless the king's prerogative and the propositions of the House of Commons. Another let to the voting of business was the request of the House of Commons for a conference, as aforementioned, which came at the same time.

On Monday, that week, also Sergeant Ashley, one of the king's counsel, after two days' commitment of the sergeant of the upper house for speaking at Thursday conference both without commission and discretion, and for offending thereby the king and the House of Commons, did at their lordships' bar upon his knees acknowledge his error, and craved pardon. And the like he was enjoined to have done at the bar of the House of Commons, but that for the offence he had committed against them, they will have the censuring themselves. Some of his apophthegms were, that the House of Commons went about to turn the monarchy into an anarchy; and to take away the council from the king or power from the council, to give the king a sword with one hand, and take it away with the other: and that if the king committed any man to prison for not lending of money, he needed not write the cause on the back of the warrant.

Secretary Coke brought one message to the House of Commons that the king would confirm their privileges in as ample manner as any of his predecessors had done. To which the House willing him to set his hand, he said, he would if the king would give him leave. So, after he had spoken with his majesty, he penned the same message, and thereto set his hand.

On Thursday, that week after dinner, the lord mayor and aldermen were called to the king to lend him £15,000; but utterly refused, and being threatened by the duke to have 600 soldiers billeted amongst them, he told his grace directly, that the city was committed to him from his majesty; and that if any soldiers came thither, they would resist them to blood. This denial of the city, some think, made the next day, Friday, more happy in parliament.

My Lord of Denbigh could not by any means make the sailors to go, though he had changed, they say, most of

the masters. Now they say again, he is either gone or ready to set sail for the long-intended relief of Rochelle, with nine ships and a pinnace of his majesty and seven merchants, being of the choicest men-of-war in all the kingdom, and attended by some thirty-four or thirty-five victuallers, most of them also men-of-war. But for want of marines his lordship is fain to take in 2200 land soldiers, being two regiments and two companies, all their officers, even to their sergeants, being cashiered, and they being to serve partly as soldiers and partly as musketeers.

On Saturday, before the great week, viz. April 18, were called into the upper house, and sat there as peers, Sir Thomas Coventry, lord keeper, Sir Richard Weston, who, they say, shall be lord treasurer; Sir Edward Howard, youngest brother to the Earl of Suffolk, and Sir George Goring. And on Thursday following Sir Edward Conway, son to the Lord Viscount Conway, was called baron and peer, to sit in the upper house: and so they say shall Sir John Saville, comptroller of the king's household.

PS. I saw a letter just now from a parliament man, that they are in parliament for the great business, yet doubtful, because the court faction in the House of Lords, so numerous and increasing.

That on Thursday they received a message from his majesty by Secretary Coke in few words, viz.—that he desired to know whether they would trust to his goodness, and rely on his promise or not? Sir Edward Coke moved the House hereupon, that all business might stay, and no committees sit that afternoon, that every man might apply himself to consider of the message, and in the morning resolve of an answer to his majesty.

That yesterday's forenoon (Friday) was spent in debating what answer might be made to the king's message, and it was referred to a selected committee to take into consideration, that afternoon, certain heads propounded by Sir Thomas Wentworth, and resolved on by the grand committee of the whole House, to frame such answer as may please his majesty, and secure the subject.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, May 10, 1628.

The Saturday before, it is said, my Lord Chancellor of Scotland delivered a bold message to the king, as from the nobility and commons of that kingdom, viz.—that they had been informed his majesty intended to annul the liberties of the English nation: and that, seeing their privileges were the very same, and that they served both one master, they looked for the same measure; and, therefore, as the Commons of England would go, so would those of Scotland back them, and would lose their last drop of blood rather than their liberties. He besought his majesty to follow the advice of the parliament; which, if he should once more dissolve, he would hazard the loss of all his kingdoms.

The House of Commons had all that week been disputing a question, whether they should insert *verbatim* in the bill of their resolutions, concluded by the general vote of the House, concerning the personal liberty of the subject, and propriety of their goods, or should weave them in a more moderate way.

The great hubbub, on Wednesday was sennight, of a fleet of Spaniards, of 250 sail, discovered off Portsmouth, proved to be a huge fleet of Hollanders, of 150 sail, bound for the West Indies and other parts, being dogged by 30 Dunkirkers.

My Lord of Denbigh, with 60, others say 50, sail of ships, one with another, set sail from Plymouth, toward the relief of Rochelle, betimes on Sunday morning, April 27th, and by the course of the winds since, it was thought he might be arrived there within a week after his setting forth.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, May 17, 1628.

I will begin now where I think I left you in my last, namely, at my lord keeper's speech, in answer to the speaker and Commons' petition at Whitehall, on Monday

was sennight, May 5. After they returned, they would say nothing thereto the same day ; but on Tuesday, May 6, Secretary Coke, after the reading both the speaker's speech and the king's answer thereto by the keeper, and half an hour's deep silence, stood up to persuade the House rather to rely upon the king's word than upon any law. Sir Nathaniel Rich added, that though no man was more confident of his majesty's word than himself, yet, before we should take the king's royal word, we ought in discretion to know for what. For notwithstanding in many messages it was promised his majesty would govern henceforth according to law ; yet, since that law had never been more violated, the parliament sitting, as namely—by the commitment of the mayor of Sandwich without any cause alleged, and likewise Sir James Stanhope, member of the same House, and by more frequent billeting of soldiers than ever. If a sufficient man, whom he durst trust far more than himself were worth, should promise to pay him a sum of money in general terms, he would never take him at that indefinite word ; but if he would promise to pay him £100, then he would. So if we might certainly, and particularly and clearly know what his majesty would promise, God forbid we should refuse him at his word.

Mr. Pym said, he thought his majesty's oath at his coronation, binding himself to maintain the laws of England, was as strong as his royal word could be ; and, therefore, since he had given us that already, what need we take his word ? And so would have it put to the question, whether we should take his word or no ?

Secretary Coke taxed him doubly, saying, how dishonourable would it be for the king, if the question should go against him, for then it would be said in foreign parts the people of England would not trust their king. Besides, he hoped the House would call Mr. Pym to account for upbraiding the king's oath unto him, and would make him expound himself. Whereunto Mr. Pym answered, " Truly, Mr. Speaker, I am just of the same opinion I was, viz., that the king's oath was as powerful as his word."

Then Sir John Eliot moved also to have it put to the question, "Because," said he, "they that would have it do urge us to that point, for without being put to the question they cannot obtain it."

Then Sir Edward Coke said, "We sit now in parliament, and therefore must take his majesty's word no otherwise than in a parliamentary way; that is, of a matter agreed on by both Houses, his majesty sitting on his throne in his robes, with his crown on his head and sceptre in his hand, and in full parliament, viz.—both Houses being present, and such his royal word and assent being entered upon record, in *perpetuam rei memoriam*. This," he said, "was the royal word of a king in parliament, and not a word delivered in a chamber, or out of the mouth of a secretary or lord keeper at the second-hand. Therefore, his motion was, that the House of Commons, *more majorum*, should draw a petition *de droict* to his majesty; which, being confirmed by both Houses, and assented unto by his majesty, would be as firm an act as any.

So accordingly, on Thursday, May 8, at a conference between both Houses in the Painted Chamber, Sir Edward Coke, after his speech, presented the same petition to their Lordships, consisting of four branches, or heads. 1. The personal liberty of the subject. 2. His propriety in his goods. 3. Unbilleting of soldiers. And 4. Silencing of martial law in time of peace. Their lordships made no present answer hereunto, but said they would on Friday, the day following, consider of it, and return their answer on Saturday. But it seems by the enclosed, which I received yesterday, they did not, being hindered by some debate thereabout, for on Monday last¹ the king wrote to them² what I here send you.

On Wednesday, May 7, in the morning, the House of Commons also, in a general committee, voted the times of payment of their subsidies, viz.—two in July, one in October, one in December, and the last in March; but, in the preamble of their Subsidy Bill, they will give them conditionally,—that his majesty shall grant them their petition, otherwise not. On Wednesday also, the same

¹ May 12.

² See Rushworth, vol. i., p. 560.

day, the clergy meeting at Lambeth, agreed to give five subsidies, the first whereof should not be paid till three years hence.

On Friday, that week, the House of Commons had in chase a blasphemous catechism, made in scandal of Puritans, by one Burgess, a debauched churchman.

Sir Baptist Hicks,¹ of London, mercer, who married his two daughters (have no male issue) unto the Lord Noel and Sir Charles Morison, was, on Sunday was sen- night, May 4, made a baron of, I know not what, and Viscount Cambden, and the honours entailed to the Lord Noel and his male issue in remainder.

I have heard no more this week but what I send you enclosed, which was in the beginning of the week; on which day also Dr. Joseph Hall, Bishop of Exeter, wrote a passionate letter to the House of Commons, which, if I have time, I will transcribe. I send you some books, symptoms of the times.

Mr. Beaulieu to Sir Thomas Puckering.

London, May 20, 1628.

Concerning the late great and unfortunate occurrence of the queen's miscarrying of her first child, so likely in few months to have been a hopeful prince, I can say no more of the cause thereof than, as the common report is, that she was frighted two or three days before with the fighting of two great dogs in her gallery, wherof the one belonged to my Lord of Dorchester, which is said to have come so near the queen, as that he did snatch at her and pull her by the gown. Others say, that at her coming back by water from this town, where she had been about her devotions, by reason of the Ember-week, the Monday before, she making haste to rise from her seat at the landing afore the barge had touched the shore; the strength of that touch made her to bow backwards, as she rose upon her feet, that presently she felt a pain upon it which did not leave her till she was

¹ The brother of Sir Michael Hicks, Lord Burghley's private secretary. Sir Baptist was created Baron Hicks of Henington, in Warwickshire, and Viscount Campden in Gloucestershire, with remainder to his son-in-law, Lord Noel. Lord Campden died on the 18th of October, in the following year.

brought to bed. Others again impute it to the violence of her exercises, namely, her much walking and going up hill; and some will have this to be the more likely cause. Howsoever it happened, it was a great favour of God, that she had no worse issue of her person; for at that time she had neither midwife nor physician about her, only the poor town midwife of Greenwich was sent for, who swooned with fear as soon as she came into the queen's chamber, so as she was forced presently to be carried out; and Chamberlayne, the surgeon, was he alone that did the part of a midwife, at which time the queen did suffer great pain, because the child was turned overthwart in her belly. Yet, as soon as she was delivered, she fell asleep, and since she hath by little and little daily recovered her strength. The little prince, having yet some little life left when he was born, was presently christened and called Charles, and the next, about eleven of the clock at night, he was solemnly buried, as the shortness of the time could afford it; for his body was carried by six earls' sons, under a black velvet canopy, supported by six barons' sons, from the upper chamber of the parliament house to the Abbey of Westminster, it being attended by the noblemen, bishops, the judges, the gentlemen of the court, and the singing men, both of the chapel and abbey, and was laid by his grandfather, King James's body.¹

Concerning the businesses, I can say no more as yet of the parliament prisoners' cause; but that it was heard and put off again from Saturday last to the beginning of the next term, so as they cannot as yet enjoy the benefit of their Habeas Corpus.

For the matter of the trade, there was a court called on Saturday last of the Adventurers' Company, where thirty-five of them gave their voices for it, and only twenty-four against it, so as there is hope conceived at court that by degrees the merchants will be brought to fall to their trade again, upon some conditional assurances given them to secure them at sea. But the French merchants are afraid, notwithstanding the late peace, to venture as yet their ships and wares into France, by reason of some former arrests given there afore this war for the seizing

of any English goods for the satisfying of certain merchants of Bretagne, which had been taken by the English.

For my Lord of Danby's journey, it is doubtful, by the reason of the weakness of his body, which made him so abruptly depart hence, that the king was offended at it, and hath sent Dr. Chambers, for the second time, to Oxford unto him, to be better certified both of his health and resolution.

The Scottish and Irish viscounts and barons are put out, and to be kept hereafter out of the commissions, for wronging the English in their places. Sir Thomas Roe is upon a journey to the King of Swedeland and Poland; but with what errand or command, I do not yet know. And Sir Edward Spencer, who designed for Holland, is now appointed for Venice.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, Tuesday, May 27, 1628.

No more particulars of my Lord Denbigh's disaster or dishonour; but that the king the very self-same day the relation came to court, sent back to Plymouth more absolute commission, if so be the fleet can be met with, as if it be come away from the Belle Island, where the pinnace left it, it will be hard to do, unless returned to Plymouth, as a victualler, (they said), brought news on Friday; on which day, it was said at London, that his majesty was gone also to Portsmouth to set out Captain Pennington with another fleet for the relief of Rochelle, if he can be in any time ready.

Matters in parliament were still doubtful. On Saturday was sennight, May 17, at a conference between both houses, the lord keeper delivered these lines to be added unto their Petition of Right. "We present this our humble petition unto your majesty, not only with care to preserve our own liberties, but with due regard to leave entire that sovereign power wherewith your majesty is trusted for the protection, safety, and happiness of your people." But the Commons will by no means have these words inserted; no, not though there were about the beginning of the

week a new conference, at which the lord keeper expounded these words, "Leave entire the sovereign power." And on Friday, they had another conference, whereat, whether they accorded or not, the letters written on that day could not tell us. But a letter, written on Saturday from Westminster, saith, they rose not till five o'clock; and that the news was then, they had appointed a new committee to devise some form of words to be added, which might satisfy the intent of the Lords' proposition, and yet no way impeach their liberties, as they thought the form aforesaid would.

The Earl of Bedford,¹ one of the earnest ones for defence of the liberties, is lately commanded down into Devonshire, whereof he is lieutenant; but he was not to know his commission till he comes there. Whereat his family were much perplexed.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, Saturday, May 31, 1628.

On Monday, about eleven o'clock, (the Commons, after a long debate and conference, yielding no whit to have aught in the petition altered) the Lords fully came off, and agreed thereto, without any alteration at all, not much above three or four Lords dissenting, whose votes, notwithstanding, were involved in the general number. The news of which agreement the Earl of Berkshire instantly carried unto his majesty, being then at dinner. Whereupon, Archie, the king's fool (if it be worth telling), calling for a cup of wine, drank the king's health, saying it was the happiest that ever came unto them.

The same day, after the agreement, the lord treasurer moved the Lords, that it might be their joint and humble suit unto his majesty that those Lords, who had been long in disfavour and confined, might be received into favour, and in sign thereof be admitted to his majesty's gracious presence, and kiss his hand. The duke undertook to do it; and, with the Earl of Holland, carried the suit presently unto the king, and returned instantly with grant thereof to the House. Then the Lord Archbishop, Bishop of

¹ Francis, fourth earl. He died of the smallpox 9th of May, 1641.

Lincoln, Earls of Essex, Lincoln, Warwick, Bristol, Lord Say, and the rest, (except the Earl of Arundel, who was not that day in the House) went and kissed his majesty's hand, when the archbishop, through weakness, not being able to rise, but ready to have fallen down, his majesty rose and helped him up.

On Tuesday, the Commons caused the proposition to be engrossed, and on Wednesday, in the afternoon, presented to his majesty in the banqueting-house, who, graciously receiving it, said, that as they had been long about it, so must they give him some time to consider it, and it should not be long before they heard again from him.

On Monday, also came news, that the Earl of Denbigh was returned with the fleet to Portsmouth, whereby it seems, if it be true, that the second commission met not with him, and so the remaining hopes of the relieving of Rochelle are failed, to their desperate hazard and our dishonour.

Clarke, the author of all this mischief, was returned before, came to London Friday last week, and was presently committed, and since twice examined by the lords of the council. But what will become of him, I know not. He is supposed to be a papist, and his clerk or secretary no better. He hath been a chief man in commission in all our unfortunate voyages, and so suspected to have done no good service.

On Friday night, the last week, and that late, came order to the lord mayor for strict double watching in the city, which continued three days, and on Sunday all the gates were kept shut, the lord mayor having the keys. The cause whereof is yet unknown, though muttered as if some had intended to fire the city.

There died this week in London thirty-eight of the smallpox, and the week before forty-one; but of the plague (God be thanked!) none.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, June 15, 1628.

I know you have heard of that black and doleful Thursday, June the 5th, the day I arrived at London;

which was by degrees occasioned first of his majesty's unsatisfactory answer on Monday; increased by a message afterwards, that his majesty was resolved neither to add to nor alter the answer he had given them. Hereupon, they fell to recount the miscarriages of our government, and the disasters of all our designs these later years, representing everything to the life; but the first day glancing only at the duke, but no naming him. On Wednesday, they proceeded farther to the naming of him; Sir Edward Coke breaking the ice, and the rest following, so that on Thursday, they growing still more vehement, and ready to fall downright upon him, a message was sent from his majesty, absolutely forbidding them to meddle with the government or any of his majesty's ministers; but, if they meant to have this session, forthwith to finish what they have begun: otherwise his majesty would dismiss them. Then appeared such a spectacle of passions, as the like had seldom been seen in such an assembly, some weeping, some expostulating, some prophecying of the fatal ruin of our kingdom; some playing the divines, in confessing their own and country's sins, which drew those judgments upon us; some finding, as it were, fault with those that wept, and expressing their bold and courageous resolutions against the enemies of the king and kingdom.

I have been told, by a parliament man, that there were above an hundred weeping eyes, many who offered to speak being interrupted and silenced by their own passions. But they stayed not here, but as grieved men are wont, all this doleful distemper showered down upon the Duke of B. as the cause and author of all their misery, in the midst of these their pangs crying out most bitterly against him, as the abuser of the king and enemy of the kingdom. At which time, Mr. Speaker, not able, as he seemed, any longer to behold so woful a spectacle in so grave a senate, with tears flowing in his eyes, besought them to grant him leave to go out for half an hour; which being granted him, he went presently to his majesty, and informed him what state the House was in, and came presently back with a message to dismiss the House of all

committees from further proceeding, until next morning, when they should know his majesty's pleasure farther. The like was sent to the Lord's House, and not there entertained without some tears; both Houses accepting it as a preparation to a dissolution, which they expected would be next morning. But this is observable (I hear it from a parliament knight) that, had not the speaker returned at that very moment, they had voted the duke a traitor and arch enemy to the king and kingdom, with a worse appendix thereto, some say true. They were then calling to the question, when the speaker came in, but then stayed to hear his message.

The next day, Friday morning, they were recomforted with a message much better than they looked for; that they should go on and despatch their business, for which his majesty would grant them convenient time, and give them such satisfaction as was meet. They spent that day in the House of Commons in preparing a Remonstrance to his majesty of the great danger the kingdom was in, and the grievances it groaned under, which they first thought upon the day before, when his majesty's message came unto them threatening a dissolution. They examined the transporting of ordnance, the selling of powder of the Tower, the matter of the Dutch horses, &c., but fell no more yet upon the duke. That forenoon came an unexpected message from the Lords. Their lordships desired the House of Commons to join with them to petition his majesty for another answer to the Petition of Right; which they most gladly accepted of. I was then in Westminster Hall.

The next day, Saturday June 7, the Commons continued as before in making ready the Remonstrance. They rose at twelve. I dined with Sir R. Brooke, at his brother's house, close by the Palace Yard; sat with him till two; at which time he made haste again to the Parliament House, there being then not so much as a suspicion of his majesty's coming to the House, as having not yet been moved by both Houses, as was agreed. Nevertheless, about four o'clock, news comes his majesty was coming to parliament.

Presently the Commons were called, and his majesty spoke to them thus:—

“ The answer I have already given you was made with so good deliberation, and approved by the judgment of so many wise men, that I could not have imagined but that it should have given full satisfaction. But, to avoid all ambiguous interpretations, and show you there is no doubleness in my meaning, I am willing to please you in words¹ as in substance. Read your Petition, and you shall have an answer that I am sure will please you.”

The Petition being read, his majesty answered, “ *Le Droict soit faict comme il est désiré.*”

“ This, I am sure, is full; yet no more than I granted you in my first answer. You see, now, how ready I have showed myself to satisfy your demands; so that I have done my part. Wherefore, if this parliament hath not a happy conclusion, the sin is yours. I am free of it.”

Presently the Houses testified their satisfaction, with acclamations and other like expressions.

The news being come into the city before it could be generally known, the bells began to ring, bonfires were kindled, the number whereof at length equalled those at his majesty's coming out of Spain. But, which was strange, if not ominous, a great part of them were made upon a misprision that the duke either was or should be sent to the Tower; a strange apprehension to be so generally upon the sudden, without further desire to inquire, or to be rightly informed by such as knew the true ground, in so much (as some say) the old scaffold on Tower Hill was pulled down and burned by certain unhappy boys, who said they would have a new one built for the Duke of Bucks. This misapprehension prevailed so far, that it went down westward and other parts of the country, as to Ware and other places, where bonfires were likewise made upon the like apprehension.

Thus much of that week's news. For this last I must be shorter.

¹ “ For he was told they desired the ancient form heretofore used by his ancestors.”—*Note by Mr. Mead.*

On Monday and Tuesday, the Commons still went on with their Remonstrance. On Wednesday, came a gracious message or two from his majesty, that they should go on, and his majesty would grant them convenient time to finish their business, for that Wednesday had the former week been set them for a conclusion of this session.

In the Lords' House, Dr. Mainwaring was that day arraigned. On Thursday, they got the commission for Excise into their hands in the House of Commons, which was sealed by the broad seal of England, and dated January 15 last. Here I left them worrying, and some bitter speeches had been made against my lord keeper, for daring to set the great seal to that, which he knew to be against the laws.

The same day, the grant of the five subsidies was absolutely finished and passed, waiting only to be presented to his majesty, which they deferred till Monday (to-morrow) that they might present their Remonstrance with it. There was no less than four hours' dispute that day, whether they should expressly name the duke or not in the Remonstrance, which at length being put to the question, it was carried for naming him by more than 100 voices : so they name him in the manner I send you in the enclosed.

On Monday, which day I came out of London, was Mainwaring's answer in the Lords' House expected. I could not hear what it was at two o'clock, but understood they meant not to touch his life.

This day, was said the king and council sat all the forenoon, and doubted wherefore.

Since I came home, I hear strong news in turn that, on Friday, at night, Dr. Lamb should be slain by the prentices. It is brought by some who came out of London yesterday. Some tell it by sailors. What is true, we shall hear ere long.

Heads of the Remonstrance.

1. Innovation and alteration of the religion.
2. Innovation and alteration of the government.
3. Disasters of our designs.

4. Decay of trade.
5. Want of munition, powder, and shot.
6. Not guarding the narrow seas.
7. Unfurnishing of the forts.
8. Tonnage and poundage taken without warrant.

The excessive power and greatness of the duke of Buckingham, and his abuse of the greatness near and about the king, is the cause of all these evils happened both to the king and kingdom.

The Committee for drawing the Remonstrance.

Sir Edward Coke.	Mr. Pym.
Sir Nathaniel Rich.	Mr. Selden.
Sir John Eliot.	Mr. Littleton.
Sir Henry Martin.	Mr. Whitby, to inform and
Sir Thomas Wentworth.	assist them with his notes.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, June 21, Saturday, 1628.

On Friday evening, June 13, Dr. Lamb having been at a playhouse, as he was coming thence, some boys and such like began to quarrel with and affront him, calling him the *duke's devil*, and in such sort,¹ that he hired some sailors and others that he gathered up to guard him home. He came in at Moorgate, and the people following him. He supped at a cook's shop, where the people watched him, whilst his guard defended him from their violence. Thence he goes to the Windmill Tavern, in Lothbury, the tumult still increasing. At length, as he came thence, the people set upon him. He flies to another house, where they threw stones, and threatened to pull down the house, unless Lamb were delivered to them. The master of the house, a lawyer, fearing what might ensue, wisely sends for four constables to guard him out of his house. But the rage of the people so much increased, (no man can tell why or for what cause) that in the midst of these auxiliaries they struck him down to the ground, giving him

¹ "Some say he increased the rage of the boys and others who first abused him by drawing a poniard at them."—*Note of Mr. Mead.*

divers blows and wounds, and quite beat out one of his eyes. Thus being left half dead, and in such a case, that he never spoke after he was carried to the Compter, in the Poultry, (no other house being willing to receive him) where the next morning he ended a wretched life by a miserable and strange dream. Some say, the keeper got above £20 by taking twopence a groat apiece of such as came to see him when he was dead.

On Monday after, my lord mayor and the aldermen of the city were called before the council-table to give an account of this uproar, his majesty saying, though Lamb were a vicious fellow, he would require an account of somebody for his subject. Some thought the city would be fined, unless they could excuse it the better. A friend of mine affirms that he heard, three quarters of a year since, that Lamb himself should say, he should be killed by the people in the streets, or to that effect, besides some other predictions of the like had of somebody else. If this be true, it may be the fear of his destiny made him, upon the first quarrelling of the boys, to hire a guard, whereby occasioning a greater concourse of people, he may seem to have furthered what he would have declined. They say the people cried, moreover, whilst they were killing him, that, if his master was there, they would give him as much.¹ God grant that, to our other sins, there be no blood laid to our charge.

On Saturday, the next day, June 14, after dinner, the king and the duke being at bowls in the Spring Garden, or, as some say, looking on those who were playing at bowls, the duke put on his hat. A Scottishman, one Wilson, seeing it, kisses his hand, and snatches it off, saying, "You must not stand with your hat on before my king." The duke falling to kick him, the king said, "Let him, George; he is either mad, or a fool."—"No, sir," quoth Wilson, "*I am a sober man; but this man's health is pledged with as much devotion at Dunkirk, as your majesty's here.*" Others say he said, if his majesty would give him leave, he would tell him that of that man which

¹ The chief offence of Lamb was his being notoriously a creature of the detested favourite.

many knew, but durst not speak. Howsoever, he escaped away at that time without any hands laid on him, but since are warrants out and search is made for him.

On Tuesday, the House of Commons presented their Remonstrance to his majesty in the banqueting-house, wherein not only the duke was named, as I told you in my last, but his mother, as a patroness of popery, and the two Bishops of Winchester¹ and Laud, for factors of Arminianism, &c. His majesty, having heard it out, made them a short answer, that he expected not such a Remonstrance from them, after he had so graciously granted them their Petition of Right. All they had spoken might be reduced to two heads, either concerning church or commonwealth, wherein he perceived they understood not what belonged to either so well as he had thought they had done; for as some relate it less harshly, not so well as he did, or to like effect. As for their grievances, he would consider of them as they should deserve. The duke, presently after the reading of that Remonstrance, fell on his knees, desiring of his majesty leave to answer for himself; but his majesty would not, but graced him so far before all, that he gave him his hand to kiss. Thus all our letters and relations. But Mr. Danford,² who came out of London on Wednesday, and, as I think, was then at court, contradicts it, yet confesseth most of the parliament men would not be persuaded otherwise, mistaking, saith he, which was but a low *congé* to his majesty's hand. After this answer and entertainment, how the House was discontented; how some were dejected; how others fretted, and repented of their facility in the subsidies, I have heard something in general, but expect a more perfect relation by this day's letters.

Mr. Danford tells, above and beside what our letters and others have related, of a great unkindness at least, if it prove not a breach, between the Lords and Commons, upon the Commons leaving out of the grant of subsidy these words, *The Lords Spiritual and Temporal*, saying only, *We your majesty's most loyal subjects, the Commons, assembled at this present parliament*; and yet, nevertheless, they assisted the Lords in the subsidy: which, when the bill was

¹ Dr. Neile.

² B.D., Fellow of Sidney College, Cambridge.

sent up to the Lords, being presently apprehended by some, and presently made known and aggravated to all, caused much indignation; which was yet more increased by the Commons' answer, when the Lords sent to them to know the reason of this omission, viz., that there had been some such omissions in some acts heretofore: nevertheless, if their lordships would send back the bill, they would put them in. Whereat, the Lords, incensed, said, "Are we not able to put in ourselves, without sending to them, as well as they could put in themselves, and leave us out? They come, it seems, hither to domineer; that is their chiefest end. Besides, we should be well helped up to send to them to put us in: they would spend a week or two more in disputing about it, before it would be done." All this, and more to this purpose, Mr. Danford told me; as that the Lords should threaten the Commons that the Petition of Right being now in their hands, they would keep it, or make them ask leave before they had it or printed it, charging them, besides, with presumption in adding a title thereto, which was more than they ought or could do. This title was added by Sir Edward Coke. But of this I hope I have told you the worst, and that we shall hear they are reconciled by this time; which God grant.

I think I shall send you a book of Withers¹ of a high price, not much short of five shillings. It was printed, he saith, by his own hand, and rips all the faults of the kingdom in king and people, court and parliament, city and country, and in all sorts and conditions throughout the whole government and kingdom, threatening ruin without speedy repentance.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, St. Peter's Eve, June 29, 1628.

That barbarous rabble, which mauled and mangled Dr. Lamb, did it in reference to the duke his master, as they called him, whom, they said, had he been there, they would have handled worse, and would have minced his flesh, and have had every one a bit of him. My lord mayor and

¹ George Withers, the poet.

sheriffs were sent for to court about it, and have been threatened to forfeit their charter, if some of the malefactors be not found out. A ballad being printed of him, both printer, and seller, and singer, are laid in Newgate, and some three or four more upon suspicion.

On Thursday that week, June 19, was a libel taken down from a post in Coleman Street by a constable, and carried to my lord mayor, by his lordship considered on in a court of aldermen, and the two sheriffs sent to the king, with charge they should deliver it to none but his majesty. Some part¹ whereof (we hear, saith mine author) ran thus presumptuously: "Who rules the kingdom?—The king. Who rules the king?—The duke. Who rules the duke?—The devil." And that those the libellers there profess, "Let the duke look to it;" for they intend shortly to use him worse than they did his doctor; and if things be not shortly reformed, they will work a reformation themselves. At the sight whereof, they say, his majesty (he had reason) was much displeased, and commanded that double guard should be upon the watch every night.

Some words have made it an ominous observation that Wilson, the Scotsman, should cap the duke as he was bowling the same day that Lamb died; for he died not till nine o'clock on Saturday; and that the same day the duke's picture fell down in the high commission chamber at Lambeth. To which they add, that not long since, his nose bleeding, my lord keeper's mace was clapped upon his neck to stanch the blood. But these are toys, though my Lady Davis,² the prophetess, says his time is not till August.

Montagu's charge was not then given up, nor known what it should be. If not, yet to set a brand upon him, they purposed to exempt him, with some others, out of general pardon, which was then come down. But, it is

¹ "It seems there were some more copies scattered; for this fair time one Mr. Wright's man was fetched up for taking up one of them, and showing it to a saddler in London, as he was coming to the fair."—*Note of Mr. Mead.*

² Eleanor, the wife of the king's attorney-general, Sir John Davies, who, presuming on an anagram of her name, "Reveal, O, Daniel," affected a prophetic inspiration. When brought before the Star Chamber, her pretensions were ridiculed by one of the members of the council discovering that the real anagram was "Never so mad a lady." The reader will learn more of her singular history in a future page.

said, it was *indulgentia plenaria*, forgiving sins both mortal and venial, both domestical and foreign, in so much that it was doubtful whether the House of Commons would pass a pardon so general. The rest of the news of that week you shall find at the end of the Remonstrance, which I herewith send you as it was sent to me, from London, with that addition.

Some day this week was a letter thrown at the stairs, entering into the Parliament House, with this superscription—"Cursed be the man that finds this letter, and delivers it not to the House of Commons." It was taken up by the serjeant's man, and by him given to the serjeant, who gave it to the speaker. The speaker, loth to break it open, fearing the contents might prove either dangerous or abusive, put it to the House, who chose a committee of six (Sir Edward Coke being one) to break it open, and consider whether it were fit to be read to the House, or at all published. The committee took it; Sir Edward Coke opens it and begins to read; but, after two or three lines, stopped, and durst read no farther, but presently closed it, and, as with the rest he thought fit, sealed it up and sent it to his majesty, who, they say, not reading it through, cast it into the fire, and sent the House of Commons thanks for their wisdom in not publishing it, and for the discretion of the committee in so far tendering his honour, as not to read it out when they once perceived it touched his majesty.

This week, about Wednesday, his majesty went with the duke, (taking him into his coach, and so riding through the city, as it were to grace him) to Deptford, to see the ships: where, having seen ten fair ships ready rigged for Rochelle, they say he uttered these words to the duke: "George, there are some that wish that these and thou mightest both perish. But care not for them: we will both perish together, if thou doest."

Of the Spanish fleet I hear no more but of the continuance of the report of such preparation, which some much fear may intend too near us; others hope it is for the Sound. Howsoever, our security and unpreparedness for such a danger, if it should come, doth astonish both our

neighbours and some of our own, who, by the parliament's late inquiry, know the case we are in.

Just now I receive a letter from London, wherein I understand, that this session was ended on Thursday, and the parliament prorogued until the 20th of October next; that the House of Commons had a second Remonstrance ready for the presentation that morning, for prevention whereof the speaker was kept at Whitehall past ten, when it was too late, and the king ready to come to the House. The chief scope thereof was said to be to obtain of the king instead of prorogation only a recess or adjournment, to the end that all matters now depending in parliament might be found in the same condition at their next meeting, wherein they are now left; yea, and more than that, a standing committee might be left in town to prepare fully the bill of tonnage and poundage, and a new book of rates thereto belonging, as also the bill of arms, against their next meeting. This recess or adjournment was treated of at the council-table, and all the privy council were for it, and had persuaded the king to be of their mind, had not the duke, they say, ruled him to the contrary.

The pardon came down from the Lords' House to the House of Commons, which was too large to the faultiest, too strait to the more innocent, and so it lies dead.

His majesty assented to twenty-two private acts, and four public. 1, For the observation of the Sabbath; 2, against alehouses; 3, against the transportation of children beyond the sea to be trained up in popery; and 4, for continuation of seven statutes whereupon the government of justices of peace does much depend.

The *Petition of Right* is both enrolled in all the courts of justice, and printed among the residue of the acts.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, July 5, 1628.

You know, I suppose, that the Earl of Devonshire¹ is dead. Sir Francis Carew (one of the hopefulest gentlemen, they say, in England, who went in my Lord Den-

¹ William Cavendish; he died at his house near Bishopsgate, June 20, 1628.

high's fleet to Rochelle, and, might he have had his will, would have done more service than was done) is since suddenly dead, being but thirty years of age, of which some talk, it may be, they know not what.

I must correct a misinformation I gave you of his majesty's and the duke's journey to Deptford, which was not, as I told you, upon the Wednesday, but the Saturday before; and the ships they went to see were the ten new pinnaces, called the Lion's Whelps. For the rest, I told you true, for aught I yet know.

This Mr. Melvin, whose strange speeches I now send you, had been two months prisoner, and then suing according to the privilege of the law for an Habeas Corpus, the king's attorney told him he could not have it, being imprisoned for high treason. Whereupon he desired he might instantly have his trial, either by the law of nations, or by a jury mixed of Scots and English, and was told, if he were so eager, he should, and accordingly was expected to have been arraigned at the King's Bench bar; but when the time appointed came, was not.

This I think is all you wanted of my last week's intelligence. But now I will tell you some strange business happened since, out of a letter I received yesterday, and written on Wednesday.

The letter is this:—

London, Wednesday, July 2.

“Yesterday, the Bishop of London¹ was translated to York. It was performed by four commissioners, Neile, Harsnet, Buckeridge, and Field, with a licence read from the Archbishop of Canterbury. But his grace now of York carries death in his face and looks, as though he could not live twelve months to an end. He was brought and carried forth in a chair, being both lame and deaf. Laud is now expected to be presently translated to London; Dr. Man to be his successor at Bath and Wells; Dr. Wren, Master of Trinity College; Rochester² removes to Ely, whom Balcanqual³ is to succeed at Rochester; Montagu is to be Bishop of Chichester. The Bishop of Oxford,

¹ Dr. George Mountaine.

² Dr. Buckeridge.

³ It was not he, but Walter Carle, who succeeded to the bishopric of Rochester.

Howson, removes to Durham, the Dean of Christ Church¹ to the see of Oxford.

“The king since Friday last sent thrice in one day (the last time was at twelve o'clock at night) by the clerks of the Upper House to the then Bishop of London² to restore Dr. Mainwaring to his church and liberty of preaching again; which the Bishop twice refused, alleging the parliamentary sentence against him, but the third time he yielded.³

“The king hath sent for all the powder in the city both from the maker and chief seller, and also from the companies. The powder in the artillery ground is likewise sealed up for the king. The citizens are full of fear, fetch their arms from the artillery garden, lest they should be also surprised, and privately they powder each man for himself. The duke was lately at the Tower, where they are preparing much carpentry work; but the carpenters themselves know not for what end.

“There is a great dearth in Ireland, both for corn and cattle. And a toleration of religion here in England, though not much talked of, is said by some concluded of, the papists offering for it £300,000 per annum.

“The king is now going to Portsmouth, hath sent to several men by names, and to several companies in London to borrow money upon the subsidies lately granted, but can get none. All men's hearts here fail them.”

Thus that letter.

Certain speeches whereof one Mr. Melvin, a Scottishman, is accused, being now a prisoner in the Gatehouse, and appointed as yesterday⁴ to have been arraigned for high treason at the King's Bench bar, but was not.

Mr. Melvin said:—

1. That the duke's plot was that the parliament should be dissolved, and that the duke and the king, with a great army of horse and foot, would war against the commonalty, and that Scotland should assist him; so that whilst war

¹ Dr. Corbet.

² Dr. Mounteine.

³ “They talk here he is to preach at court within this sennight, and to be Bishop of Rochester, which I saw also in a letter to-day; but it may be it is but Dean of Rochester in Balanqual's room, if such a thing be possible.”—*Note of Mr. Mead.*

⁴ Thursday, June 26, 1628.

was amongst ourselves, the enemy should come—for the kingdom is already sold to the enemy by the duke.

2. That the duke hath a stronger council than the king, of which were Jesuits and Scottishmen; and that they sit every night from one till three.

3. That when the king had a purpose to do anything, of what consequence soever, the duke would alter it.

4. That there were but four honest bishops in the land, and the rest were all Arminians and other sects.

5. That when the ordnance was shipped at St. Martin's, the duke caused the soldiers to go on, that they might be destroyed.

6. That the duke said he had an army of 16,000 foot, and 1,200 horse.

7. That King James's blood and Marquis of Hamilton's, *cum aliis*, cried out for vengeance to Heaven; that he could not but expect ruin upon this kingdom.

8. That Prince Henry was poisoned by Sir Thomas Overbury, who for the same was served with the same sauce; and that the Earl of Somerset could say much to this.

9. That he himself hath a cardinal to his uncle, or near kinsman, whereby he hath great intelligence.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, July 12th, 1628.

Nor can it sink yet into my head, that the great man should willingly and *de industria* betray the kingdom to an enemy, though I think it possible he may be in error, [or by] ill guidance, and, following unfaithful counsel, hazard us to such a danger. And I fear he is ruled by those who wish our state no good, though they profess it not, and mask it under other pretences. Yet, for maintaining so much of my unbelief as you do, and alleging some reasons for it, I was this commencement time taken for half a Dukelin.

But to our news, omitting to repeat what I wrote to you by anticipation last week. The rest, therefore, which I received that day by letter, was, that besides Mainwaring, those deputy-lieutenants of Cornwall, which were by the

House of Commons sent to the Tower for their ignoble practices against the free election of knights, were not only released, but also graced with honour and dignities.

That on Tuesday, that week, as my author heard, the judges being called to deliver their opinion to the king in the matter of tonnage and poundage, said, that his majesty could not justify to take that subsidy, but only by act of parliament.

That he heard likewise, the merchants would refuse to pay it, and in case of imprisonment they will sue out an Habeas Corpus; and out of seizure of goods they will require a replevy from the sheriff.

That his majesty's speech (now printed together with the acts of parliament) was somewhat excepted against by some prime men of both Houses. "For the parliament," say they, "are and always have been judges of the judges, with power to reverse their decrees and sentences, and to punish them even with the gallows (as they did Judge Tressillian) for giving sentence contrary to law. That in time of parliament they are the only interpreters of the law, and who can do that better than the lawmakers themselves? Besides, that although neither nor both the Houses together can make a law without his majesty's consent, yet can they declare or expound a law; for who can do it comparable to them?"

That on Thursday that week were 150 Irish soldiers billeted in Westminster, after they had been expelled out of Canterbury, and that 150 more were to be billeted about the city. That the king is¹ shortly to make a journey into Scotland, there to be crowned; whither, it being thought the duke having no mind to accompany him, nor yet to stay here alone in his absence, made therefore all the haste he could to be gone for Rochelle, having some two days before reconciled unto him Sir Robert Mansell, who should accompany him this journey.

That there were over against the Tower wharf strange engines and fireworks preparing within three hoys, which some said were for Rochelle; others for Dunkirk. That

¹ "About the beginning of August, some say, and that he goes post."—*Note of Mr. Mead.*

they talked the king had an intention to take all the arms, powder, and munition of the citizens into the Tower, which they will never be drawn to yield to. And that it is said there is a project on foot to draw all the arms of the country into several magazines.

That on Tuesday that week Mr. Melvin was discharged from being proceeded against at the King's Bench bar in case of high treason, in regard the grand jury found an *ignoramus* in the indictment, and so he was released upon bail; the Chancellor of Scotland most nobly, saith mine author, and in his chancellor's gown, accompanying the same Mr. Melvin to the bar, and back again to the prison, that he might, what in him lay, countenance his friend against the implacable malice of, &c.

One Mr. Webb, that was sent with messages and letters from my Lord of Carlisle (then at Brussels) to the king, in his return from thence with answers, was taken at sea by a man-of-war, brought back into Sandwich, all his letters taken from him, and sent to the duke, who, having perused them, sent them again to Mr. Webb, and so released him to go his journey.

That Sir William Withypole's estate is begged by Ashburnham, the duke's kinsman. That the Earl of Arundel was sick of the smallpox. On Wednesday that week the Bishop of Bath and Wells¹ was translated to London, and the day after the lord president² was made lord privy seal.

Mr. Beaulieu to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, July 16, 1628.

The commissions heretofore given for the compounding with the papists have been authorised and confirmed by proclamations: and we say here that there is a kind of public toleration granted them in Ireland; and that there are popish monasteries erected in Dublin itself; for the which they are to pay £120,000 by the year.

My lord president hath been made my lord privy seal, and my lord treasurer lord president, having resigned the treasurership into the king's hands. antibus £10,000

¹ Dr. Laud.

² Earl of Manchester.

for himself and £5000 for his lady, and some particular gratifications for his son and daughter. And my Lord Weston was invested, Saturday into the treasurer's place; but the chancellorship of the exchequer, which he had, is not yet disposed of.

Concerning the subsidies, I think one half of them is already despatched away; for I hear there are assignments made already upon the third subsidy: and yet the succours for Rochelle will not be ready to depart as yet this fortnight. But the king is this day setting out towards Portsmouth, for the hastening of the same. And I hope, if it can be set forth within that time with a prosperous wind, it will come time enough yet for the relieving of that distressed town; although, by a common ill-grounded opinion, the effecting thereof is held to be impossible.

My lord duke is fully resolved to go the journey, and will carry with him at least fifty ships of war. In the mean time, the French begin to bestir themselves about this coast, having lately taken fourteen Newcastle men on the east side, and ransacked a little town in Milford Haven, on the west. But they have no leisure to do any great harm there, being presently set upon and driven back by the trained bands of those parts.

Here hath been great labouring Scottish popish lords to have the king into Scotland; and his journey was in a manner resolved thither. But now, upon farther consideration, that resolution seems to be somewhat slacked.

My Lord Carlisle hath been royally entertained and presented in Lorraine, and so now, as we suppose, in Savoy. Mr. Porter,¹ of the bedchamber, is designed to go after him into Italy, and from thence into Spain, but his errand is riddle unto me.

Since the writing of this letter, I understand the king's journey to Portsmouth is put off till Monday; at which time the queen doth intend to take on her journey also towards Wellingborough.

¹ Endymion.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, July 19, 1628.

Our news of Saturday was this :

" London, July 11.

" On Tuesday, the quarrel between the chancellor¹ of Ireland and the Earl of Cork was heard by the king and lords, the earl together with the lord deputy² charging the chancellor with divers misdemeanours in his place; and the chancellor recriminating them both, but with such modesty, gravity, and wisdom, as was admired by all that heard him. In fine, the king, who, they say, spoke most pertinently of all others to the business, and untied most knots and difficulties, said, he would not have his chief ministers and subjects of that kingdom any longer at odds, and so hath referred the whole cause to the duke, who, though he stiffly took the earl's part at the council-table, yet the chancellor then came the more fairly off.

It is said, that fourscore thousand pounds hath lately been taken upon the sea-going for Dunkirk and brought back to Dover.

This town hath been much troubled with the bruit of a proclamation for toleration of popery; but it is not so, but only to draw a present sum of money into the king's purse by compounding with them for their penalties, as you may see by the proclamation itself, which is presently to be published.

Mr. Melvin, for all he was freed by the jury, remaineth yet prisoner in the Gatehouse, notwithstanding he proffereth very good Scottish bail: but they will accept none but English.

The inhabitants of Bristol have their subsidy allowed them by the king on condition they shall set out two ships of war and a pinnace to clear those seas of pirates.

My Lord Burgh was lately taken by a Dunkirker in his passage towards Ireland; yet were they so courteous as to restore my Lord of Cork's horses, which they had taken, and land them in Wales.

Upon an expostulation of some merchants with his ma-

¹ Sir Adam Loftus, Lord Viscount Ely.² Lord Viscount Falkland.

jesty on Tuesday, how they had not been paid for the ships left in the king's service, nor had received their freight for those that remained, and still were pressed to more services, which was the way to beggar the kingdom, the king was content to discharge many of their ships, which had lately been embarked by the duke's authority.

Dr. Mainwaring hath got a pardon under the great seal of England. Five hundred Irish are now quartered in Westminster, and the Dutch horse still feared or expected, for whom, some say, there are stalls preparing in the great hall in Dover Castle.

My lord treasurer,¹ they say, being old, shall take his ease; and my Lord Weston come in his place, and Sir Edward Sawyer, whom the parliament imprisoned, shall be chancellor of the exchequer in my Lord Weston's room.

Thus that day's letters.

Somebody hath been so wise as to print Queen Elizabeth's last speech, because the king hath printed his. I received a letter just now, whereof some of the contents are these:—

London, July 18.

That the Queen Elizabeth's printed speech was on last Saturday presented unto his majesty by his printer, John Bill, but by way of complaint, that another had printed, without leave or licence, that which was his copy, having been printed, when it was spoken, by the king's printer that then was. The king looking upon it said, "You printers may print any thing." But three bed-chamber-men, standing by, commended Mr. Bill very much, prayed him to come often with such rarities to the king, because they might do some good.

My Lord Weston is lord treasurer; his predecessor lord president; the Earl of Manchester, lord privy seal; Earl of Suffolk, lord warden of the Cinque Ports; Earl of Dorset, lord chamberlain to the queen; Sir Thomas Jermyn, her vice-chamberlain; the Lord Goring, master of her horse; the man for chancellor of the Exchequer not yet determined. It is said my lord steward shall be a duke, and resign his place to my lord chamberlain, his

¹ Sir James Leigh, Earl of Marlborough.

brother, and that the Earl of Carlisle shall be lord chamberlain; who, they say, being now ambassador at Turin, hath by his wonted profuse bounty effected a masterpiece of service, viz.—sent over to the king the very same engineer of the pope's, who hath made all those booms, barricades, and chains, for the French king, before Rochelle; and being come hither to our king, undertakes upon his life to undo all that he hath there done.

A great man, they say, who hath the custody of the crown of Scotland, being required by the king to fetch it into England, that he might be crowned here without taking so long a journey, answered, that he must not be so false to his country as to deprive it of so royal and individual an ornament; but, if his majesty would be pleased to accept of it there, he should find the hearts of those his subjects ready to yield him the highest honour. But if he should long defer that duty, they might, perhaps, be inclined to make choice of some other king.

The East India Company are like to dissolve, because the king hath released the three detained Holland ships for the business of Amboyna.

The proclamation for composition with the Papists being printed some five or six days, was this day sennight¹ stopped at the great seal by my lord keeper, and so not proclaimed.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, Tuesday, at night (late), July 22, 1628.

A little before my journey came this pamphlet to my hands. It will in some measure supply the defect of our wonted intelligence on Saturday. God send us fair day to-morrow, and then I take my leave.

PS. We say here, by intelligence from Lynn, that the coal ships taken by the French were, after some few hours of their captivity, rescued by the London coal fleet coming from Newcastle; who, after a whole day's fight, took three of the French men of war, being six in all, and having brought them, with the men, prisoners into Hull,

¹ July 12.

where it may be we shall see them before our return, being to be within sixteen miles of them.

I hear there is a consultation at the council-table, whether we shall relieve Rochelle or not, and like or feared, to be resolved we shall not; but let them perish, who yet in their last letter say, "God, if we fail them, will require their blood at our hands:" a pitiful case, and shameful, if it be true. A gentleman from London, who goes with us to-morrow, brought this news with him.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, Sunday, July 23, 1628.

Yesterday's intelligence is that our fleet for Rochelle is not yet gone, but a rumour, as if some design of ours upon some place near it were discovered, prevented, and divers executed about it. On Monday last came lamentable letters from Rochelle to his majesty, which they stile the last will and testament of themselves, wives, and children, never to write more if they be not speedily succoured; and acknowledging their sin, in relying so much upon our arm of flesh.¹

The same day also came news to London, that the Dunkirkers had burnt the fair market town of Sandy, in Milford Haven; but (saith mine author) I received a letter from Newberry, that one came thither from that place saith they only landed, and rifled one house, fired another, and then, like thieves, ran away. But the same day also (Monday) came other bad news, too true, that

¹ The conduct of Charles and his government in procrastinating the long promised succours to the heroic defenders of Rochelle, was extremely discreditable. A deputation from the unfortunate besieged arrived in London this month, to make an appeal to the English monarch, whom they addressed in the following moving strain:—"Sire, pardon men on the borders of their graves, if involuntary groans escape from them. It is natural with those who are at their end to close their lives by sighs, and certainly this is our condition, if, after all which has been done, it should now be succeeded by the least delay. We were consoled by the promise that the fleet would sail in a fortnight: twenty days passed; fourteen more were added; and now the second month is complete. Good lord, sire, how long is this time for men who want a mouthful of bread! We conjure your majesty, by the tears and the cries of thousands languishing to die, and by the interests of a million of others, who will be crushed under their ruins, on that day which shall witness the destruction of La Rochelle—we conjure you, sire, by the glory of your sceptre, under whose shadow they have placed themselves, not to suffer this innocent blood to tarnish, for ages to come, the splendour of your throne." The reader will presently see the effect of this appeal.

three French ships took thirteen of our English coal ships, and four Scottish, laden with Scottish white salt.

That the East India Company have been much daunted, and are likely to dissolve, by reason his majesty, without their privity, hath released those three Holland East India ships, which he had arrested, to give them satisfaction for the wrongs which had been done them at Amboyna. Whereupon, on Wednesday, the principal of them went to court, and spoke their minds to the king freely. His majesty's answer was, he could not detain those ships any longer, without entering into a war with that people; which how improper it would be now, when he hath both France and Spain on his back, he left them to judge. Besides, he promised them, if the Hollanders did them not justice twixt this and Michaelmas, he would take the cause into his own hand, and would procure them sufficient revenge. The same afternoon, the duke, accompanied with seven other lords, went to animate them in their trade, from his majesty, letting them know what they of Holland had appointed, and sworn certain judges to do justice there upon the malefactors, as touching the criminal; and that for the civil, they are to send commissioners hither in September, to give satisfaction unto the company. Besides, those of Holland, notwithstanding the said late arrest by us, had given orders to their officers in the East Indies not to meddle with any thing belonging to the English nation there. And for the company's better encouragement, the duke, and some others of the lords, offered to come in adventurers in their new stock. All which, notwithstanding they rested disanimated, as is thought, they will hardly be hindered from dissolution.

The removes of offices in court was on Wednesday.

Mr. Beaulieu to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, July 23, 1628.

By my letter written the last week, I signified the putting off of the king's intended journey to Portsmouth, from Thursday of that week to the Monday following;

which day, without any farther protraction, his majesty hath kept, and departed about three of the clock in the afternoon, to go to bed at Guildford that night, although by the way he did intend to christen Sir Francis Cottingham's house at Hanworth, making account to be at Portsmouth the last night, where the soldiers that are to be shipped in that fleet have their rendezvous on Thursday next, about which time we hope that all the ships appointed for the journey, which are now all gone down this river, will meet there also.

My lord duke stayeth yet behind, and will not depart hence till the latter end of this week; nor the queen till the beginning of the next, for her journey to Wellingborough. The great journey into Scotland is revived again, and will begin, as it is given out, the 1st of September.

On Sunday last the Earls of Danby and Lindsey, and the Lords Wilmot and Barret, were made of the privy council, and the last of these is designed, by report, to be chancellor of Exchequer. The Earl of Dorset is now chamberlain to the queen, and my Lord Goring master of the horse, instead of my Lord Percy, who hath given over the place, and retired himself and his young lady into the country; and Sir Robert Killegrew, as I hear, is to come into my Lord Goring's place, of vice-chamberlain to her majesty. My Lord of Arundel is come into favour again, and kissed the king's hand at York House on Sunday last.

The ambassador of Savoy is upon his departure, having taken his leave of the king, and receives a fair present. He hath much laboured, and not a little availed here for the furthering of the succour to Rochelle, and that for the interest of his majesty's service he taketh his journey back by Holland, and leaveth behind him a reputation of a very able and sufficient minister.

The fourteen ships which I mentioned in my former to have been taken by the French have been rescued out of their hands by the convoy that was coming behind.

Mr. Beaulieu to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, July 31, 1628.

For matter of news, I have little to write of at this time; since it will be no news unto you to hear of the delays and protraction used in the sending away of our fleet, which, for the most part, is in readiness, but the preparing of twelve or fifteen Dutch pinks more, which have been lately taken up to carry the victuals, stay the departure of all the rest.

My lord duke is yet in this town, but hath caused his coaches to be laid by the way, to depart hence to-morrow or the next day.

Some of the new built ships for this journey having met some of the French men-of-war in their way going to Portsmouth, have fought with them, and have sunk two of them; and some French shallops that were roving about this coast have been taken; for many, both ships and shallops of theirs, are now abroad for booty.

The three East India ships of Holland, that have been here so long under arrest, have been lately restored, with all the goods therein, to the owners, to the great satisfaction and joy of the States' ambassadors.

There hath been, and is still, a rumour of some enterprise intended here upon Calais, and discovered there; for which, it is reported, that the serjeant-major of that place and some others have been carried prisoners to Paris; and that voice hath been constant hitherto; but the time must prove the truth.

Mr. Beaulieu to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, August 6, 1628.

My lord duke is not yet gone, but he giveth out, and it is expected that, without farther delay, he will depart to-morrow; the king, as it is reported, growing somewhat impatient that he should stay so long behind him. But the truth is, that all the ships that were yet behind in this river for the journey were not nor will yet be ready to fall down till the end of this week. Neither is the number

of the mariners as yet full, which is requisite for so great a fleet. But now that there is some money at length received from the city by an assignment made them upon the third subsidy, we hope that all those removes will be taken away, and that there shall remain no more to do but to embark the provisions, and the men when they are come to the sea-shore, which will be within ten days.

In the mean time, there is rumour come from divers parts of France, though very improbable, that a good supply of meal and oxen should be put into the town of Rochelle, through the king's army, by the favour and quarter of one Monsieur de la Bergerie, a gentleman of the religion, that had a regiment there in the king's service, who is reported to have cast himself, with the supply, into the town; but that divers of his men and captains have been hanged for that action. And this news, though very strange and unlikely, yet being confirmed from so many parts, began to get some credit amongst us; but now it is much weakened, if not altogether dashed, by the coming over of a French gentleman, called Le Chevalier de Bremont, out of the king's camp, upon a pretence of a quarrel which he had with a kinsman of the cardinal, who, thereupon, (as he reporteth) sought to have him murdered. For, amongst other news which he relateth, he is silent in this particular. He saith the town of Rochelle may yet easily be succoured, although the king go very forward in the making up of his dike for the barring of the haven. He thinks that those of the town are yet furnished with victuals till Michaelmas. He affirmeth also that Monsieur de Rohan groweth stronger and stronger every day; and that his mother playeth the part of a second Judith in Rochelle. But another report of his, which, to me, seemeth very unlikely, is that there is a general prohibition of the exercise of the religion in France, wherein, I suppose, they will not be so forward to proceed as long as the town of Rochelle and the Duke of Rohan do stand out.

The said gentleman is to inform his majesty of a design, which, he saith, the King of France hath long since resolved, and would have, ere this, attempted, upon the

Isles of Jersey and Guernsey, if his hands had not been so full about the siege of Rochelle.

The gentleman that came with letters to his majesty from the town of Rochelle, called Monsieur de la Grasse-tierre, hath been taken prisoner in his going back thither, and is to like to receive a very hard measure.

There is a report that three gentlemen have been be-headed in Paris, for the enterprise upon Calais, whereof I made mention in my last. But in the present great defects and uncertainty of our advertisements, I do not know what credit to give to that enterprise, either for the matter or the circumstances thereof.

[The prominence with which one individual has figured in these pages demands that the closing scene of the spectacle, in which he has contrived to play so distinguished a part, should be described in all its details. We speak of George Villiers Duke of Buckingham. In general, the favourite of the father has to endure the contempt and hatred of the son, and the favourite of the heir apparent is regarded by the sovereign with jealousy and dislike; but in the Duke of Buckingham we find the most absolute favourite of both king and prince, obtaining, at the succession of the latter to the throne, greater power and influence than he owned during the reign of his predecessor. There is some difficulty in ascertaining the exact sources of this prolonged supremacy, unless they are to be found in an hereditary weakness of intellect or disposition, that sought support in the same showy, yet unreal qualifications. His person, manners, dress, and nature, were just suited to fascinate the royal eye, and become the cynosure of a depraved court. The subjects of the son, however, were less patient of the omnipotence of the favourite than those of

the father ; when, too, it was found that his incapacity was hourly plunging the country into ruin, whilst the despotism he strenuously endeavoured to uphold tended to crush and annihilate the principles of civil and religious liberty which were struggling for an existence, he began to be regarded by the nation at large as their common enemy ; and there were not wanting individuals willing to risk martyrdom by seeking his destruction with their own hands. Much of this ill feeling might be traced to his mismanagement of the resources of the country intended for the relief of Rochelle. Some writers have praised his gallantry—have insisted on his courage—and have vaunted his courtesy ; but, for the position he chose to occupy in advance of the best blood of England, and as the leader of her most eminent commanders, he required more sterling qualities ; of which it was notorious he was lamentably deficient. He also chose to give offence by an irregular and arbitrary exercise of patronage, in prejudice to persons who had claims upon the State.

It was during the last of those preparations for the relief of the heroic Rochellers, which seemed to be always preparing and never prepared, that John Felton, a younger son of a Suffolk gentleman of small fortune, who had embraced the profession of arms, impelled by a sense of wrong from the unjust interposition of the duke in his promotion, determined on realizing his own wild ideas of justice. His mind had evidently been heated in the furnace of discontent, which was at this particular period making the country too hot to hold the favourite, and the personal injustice of which he had to complain was well calculated to render it a thousand times more feverish and excitable. In this mood he arrived at Portsmouth, and in this mood he followed the duke from place to place, watching an opportunity to put his designs into execution.

Buckingham had been warned several times that his life was threatened, and had even been advised to wear a shirt of mail under his clothes, but he heeded neither menaces nor caution ; and shortly after his arrival at Portsmouth, as he was proceeding, from the room in which he had just breakfasted, through a lobby into the adjoining chamber,

he was struck to the heart with a knife which the assassin had bought for ten pence of a cutler on Tower Hill. Besides the account of this assassination to be found in the following letters, there is a very particular one preserved in a letter from Dudley Lord Carleton to the queen.¹ A more detailed one may be met with, which proceeds from the pen of Sir Henry Wotton.² Dr. Lingard has also drawn up a concise narrative of the transaction from the best authorities, adding the following transcript from a paper found upon the murderer:—

“That man is cowardly base, and deserveth not the name of a gentleman or soldier, that is not willing to sacrifice his life for the honour of his God, his king, and his country. Let no man commend me for doing of it, but rather discommend themselves as the cause of it; for if God had not taken our hearts for our sins, he would not have gone so long unpunished.

“JOHN FELTON.”³

The deed was done too openly to allow of the murderer's escape, had this been attempted; but the fanatic gloried too much in his crime to evade its responsibility: nevertheless, so great was the confusion caused by so unexpected a catastrophe, that, had he not pushed himself forward, acknowledging his guilt, he might easily have got clear off; and, but for the exertions of Lord Carleton and Sir Thomas Morton, the bystanders would at once have despatched him.]

¹ Ellis's "Historical Letters," first series, vol. iii., p. 254.

² "Reliquiæ Wotton:" London, 1651, p. 112.

³ Lingard's "History of England," 1844, vol. ix., p. 286.

Lord Dorchester to the Earl of Carlisle.

From the Court at Southwick, near Portsmouth, the 30th of August, 1628.

If I knew where, when, and how this letter could find your lordship, it should say much more unto you, and with greater confidence, than many of these, wherewith this bearer is loaded, whereunto I refer myself for the relation of the sad accident befallen this court, camp, and fleet, by the wicked murder of that noble person, who, next to his majesty, had chief authority of all. In this change of persons (though none yet appears of affairs) I wish your lordship here with all my heart; notwithstanding, I no ways doubt but the progress of your negociation will be as much to your contentment as the beginning was, howsoever subject to the jealousy of our friends by the caresses of our enemies. For our afflicted master, with the loss of one so dear unto him, howsoever he carrieth it both manly and princely, wants your comfort in his conversation and assistance in his affairs: which word, without more discourse, I hope will make you hasten home. At least, it is so wished by your friends, and by me more than any, as well in public respects (towards which I have a heart full of zeal) as private, concerning both our fortunes. And you will pardon me if my confidence in your love and favour, upon long experience, makes me join mine to yours.

Your dear lady hath suffered by the popular disease, but without danger, as I understand from her doctor, either of death or deformity. This, for the love the queen bears her, made an equal sadness in her court as the king's till the worst was passed; and then the scene and apprehension that sweet princess showed and still continueth of the fatal blow given here, and the comfort she giveth to those many distressed ladies in her court upon this accident, as it is kindly taken by the king, so it must affect all the world.

I think the two courts will meet at London about the end of this week.

For the expedition to succour Rochelle, it is no way

interrupted, but set forward furiously by his majesty's personal care and diligence. My Lord Lindsey hath the conduct of it, and gives good contentment to all.

The Earl of Denhigh excuseth himself on very good reason. Pennington stands upon more punctilios than befits him, and is laid aside. Sir Henry Palmer framed excuses, which are easily admitted. All others, as well land as seamen, (except the duke's dependants, as domestics) go the journey; and I think on Wednesday next the fleet will set sail, his majesty having this day held his last council for the despatch of it; and, by his manner of proceeding, I believe he will give his subjects contentment, in being the sole director of his affairs, leaving every man to the compass of his charge.

The Dutch East India ships are yet in the haven hereby, but have their passports and ten of the States' men-of-war to convoy them.

I render your lordship humble thanks for the favour of your letters of the 18th of July and 6th of this present, and with wonted devotion to your person and service, though with a new name, present myself to your lordship in quality of, &c.,

DORCHESTER.¹

Several passages concerning the Duke of Buckingham's death.

August 23, 1628.

On Saturday, being the 23rd of August, the Isle of Rhé soldiers went to the Duke of Buckingham to kiss his hand, and to take their leaves; of which one Felton (whom the duke had disappointed of two lieutenants' places, and bid him, if he knew not how to live, to hang himself) being the last, stabbed the duke in the left pap, who drawing out his sword for revenge, and saying, "Traitor, thou hast killed me!" fell into his surgeon's arms and died. This Felton, who was before a great melancholist, had now no-

¹ Sir Dudley Carleton was advanced to the peerage on May 26th, 1626, by the title of Baron Carleton, of Imbercourt, and on July 25, 1628, was created Viscount Dorchester, and filled the post of secretary of state.

thing less in him than sorrow, saying, that he thought it better for one man to die than that all England should go to ruin.

One Savage, counterfeited to be my Lord of Warwick his melancholy, how he borrowed a horse and ten pieces, and afterwards being taken, said, if the duke was killed, it was Jack Felton that did it, and said he was an idle fellow, for he hired him to do it the Friday, and he did it not till Saturday.

The king being at chapel when this news was brought him by one Charles Price, the twenty-first chapter of Acts was reading, where observe the twenty-eighth verse, &c.

Felton's tenpenny knife. He thought that if he could have come at him he would have killed him with his fist.

The duke was buried in King Henry's chapel, which is for none but anointed kings.

Anagram.

JOHN PHELTON.

*Oh flye not.*¹

Felton was arraigned at the King's Bench the 27th of November, and condemned upon his own confession, without a jury. Mr. Attorney made a speech to him, telling him what a heinous act it was to kill so true a subject and so faithful, so maliciously; and withal showed him the knife, the sight of which caused tears in his eyes. Felton said, if he was so true, &c., he was sorry; but, he said, he did it not maliciously, but with a love to his country, and, as he thought, to good intent.

It was reported that my Lord Weston, when the great preparation was to the duke's funeral, told the king, that if his majesty please to bestow any great matter on the duke's funeral, he had better erect him a tomb, for that would last for posterity, this but a day: so, when the funeral was past, the king sent for him to contrive the

¹ A bad specimen of a mechanical kind of wit then in fashion, where a transposition of letters is made into something characteristic of the individual. The reader will easily discover that the letters are not the same—not even in number.

work of the tomb. He told his majesty that not only our nation, but others, would talk of it, if he should make the duke a tomb, and not his father.

Epigram.

“ The shepherd’s stuck, the sheep are fled :
For want of lambs, the wolf is dead.”

Lord Dorchester to Sir Isaac Wake.¹

September 2, 1628.

I have not saluted your lordship since my return into England, knowing what means you have to be continually advertised of all affairs from better hands. Now, somewhat which hath passed mine, proceeding from the Venetian ambassador originally, and ending with his dissatisfaction, I could not but make known to your lordship, and you only, for the business hath been carried on in a small compass, without communication to more than you will find named in the relation; and you will, I am sure, use it accordingly, without taking more knowledge of it than the nature of the thing doth require. So that this serves only for your information, to be governed by you, as you shall find necessary for his majesty’s service, and is written by his majesty’s commandment.

On my coming to court from Holland, I found this ambassador a stranger to it upon those quarrels you are acquainted with: but, soon after, those being accommodated still remaining in ill terms with the late duke, I was made an instrument to reconcile all betwixt them, which I have done to both their contentment: this gave him a subject to make use of me to the duke in a matter of moment, the Venetian ambassador in France having written unto him to set some negotiation on foot to prevent the effusion of blood in the attempt of the succour of Rochelle, he judging this a fit conjuncture, whilst both kings were armed, to shut up a peace by an interview between the cardinal and

¹ Ambassador at Turin.

the duke, (when the duke should be with his fleet before the town) with reputation on both sides.

Thus much I was desired by this ambassador to communicate to the duke, and withal, if he tasted it, to procure the ports being shut (as they still remain) a passport for his secretary to prepare matters with his colleague in France, who, he offered, should meet the duke in person at sea, in case the French king should like of his course, on which he presumed. The duke lending a willing ear thereunto, a conference followed between him and the Venetian ambassador, at York House, which took up a whole afternoon; and the matter being in effect resolved of betwixt them, one circumstance of the ambassador's desire being that the town of Rochelle and those of the religion in France might make their peace with the king apart; to this purpose he prayed, that a deputy of the Rochellers, then present in London, should write a letter to that town, signifying, that if they could have a peace with their safety, his majesty would not dislike of it. This letter being drawn, and a passport for the ambassador's secretary being signed by the council, the duke, having some consideration that an ill use might be made of the letter by the cardinal's accustomed artifice, desired the ambassador to suspend sending his secretary, till he might acquaint his majesty therewith; and, making a posting journey down hither one day, returned to London the next with more doubt than before; yet, holding the business in deliberation, came down hither again within the space of three days, and brought me down with him, assuring the ambassador that from hence he should soon have a final resolution.

This being hindered by the multiplicity of affairs at the duke's first coming down to Portsmouth, the ambassador, impatient of delays, came down in person by example of the States and Denmark ambassadors, whose business brought them hither, though there was neither order nor provision for his following the court. More care was taken for his accommodation at a gentleman's house hereby, than of any other ambassador, and he had audi-

ence of the king here, and conference with the duke at Portsmouth; and, matters being put in that ripeness betwixt them, by laying aside that letter to Rochelle, which bred the first difficulty, that the 23rd of last month the duke was to come thither from Portsmouth to the king, to shut up all (to which purpose I was sent to him that morning early from his majesty). About nine of the clock, as he was coming out of his house to take horse, immediately after me, who was stepped out before, the fatal blow was given, of which you will have already heard.

The person being thus unfortunately taken away on whom the carriage of the ambassador's business depended, no wonder if it stuck anew. Yet he, labouring to draw it forward, had an audience of his majesty, and was referred for further conference to the lord treasurer and myself, betwixt whom matters were once so settled, that it was resolved he should send his secretary, and I read a letter unto him (out of which he took notes) containing his majesty's good liking thereof. But the making and presenting some considerations upon that writing put the matter into a new deliberation, which drew on the time till Saturday last. And, though his majesty had commanded a passport for his secretary to be drawn, yet, when he well weighed the small space that was left between that day and the going out of the fleet, he judged this sending could only serve for advertisement, not for negotiation. And, therefore, the ambassador coming to court himself, on Sunday last, two several times for the passport which was promised him, I was commanded to express unto him, which I did in the best terms I could, but no ways (as I might well perceive) to his satisfaction; and I believe he is returned to London, to make his despatches on this subject; for, since I have no news of him, and if you hear nothing of him by way of complaint, you need not say anything. If you do, this knowledge which you have of the whole carriage of the business will sufficiently arm you with an answer.

The change of the person who had the conduct of the enterprise for the relief of Rochelle, by an unfortunate accident, making a change in his majesty's proceeding, matter of

treaty not being to be committed with that confidence to a mere soldier, as to one who had chief place about his majesty, both in council and command; yet this charge his majesty gives my Lord of Lindsey, that in case the Venetian ambassador in France, upon such advices he hath had from this, as he confesseth to have written, have so prepared matters, that the king can be content to give peace to his subjects, and in sign thereof raise the siege of Rochelle, he should proceed in any hostile attempt with moderation, till, by treaty, both those of the religion and his majesty may have what in honour and justice is to be required.

His majesty being this day gone to meet the queen at Farnham, hath left me here with charge to go to Portsmouth, to see the fleet set under sail to-morrow in the afternoon, when he intends to be back at Portsmouth to be spectator of it himself. And I think I may well say, there never went a braver fleet, nor greater, nor better appointed in all respects out of England.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, September 13, 1628.

The news is, that the fleet is gone, and that his majesty making a gracious speech unto them at their departing, and encouraging them with promise of due pay, and of rewarding such as best deserved; when he had made an end, they shouted, and for a farewell desired his majesty to be good to John Felton, their once fellow-soldier.

Felton was, on Friday night, brought to the Tower by water, where multitudes of people being gathered to see him, he desired them, all the way as he came, to pray for him, who with a general voice cried, "Lord comfort thee! The Lord be merciful unto thee!" or such like words.

Mr. Savage, a Buckinghamshire gentleman, they say, was brought to the Tower in a coach on Monday. They say, the cause is for speaking some words, imparting as though he knew of Felton's purpose before he committed the fact. Others say, for other words concerning that business, but it appears to be yet uncertain what.

It is thought Felton will be tried in the beginning of the next term at the King's Bench bar.

Some one suggested to the king that the Bishop of Lincoln had been more hasty than became him in bestowing the bailiffwick of Westminster, not expecting first some intimation from his majesty. Whereupon, the king wrote to him, and checked him, that in the disposing thereof he had not depended on his majesty, according as his predecessors were wont, and his majesty required him to bestow it upon the Earl of Montgomery. The bishop, though he disavowed any such dependence ever acknowledged by his predecessors, yet answered he was ready to satisfy his majesty as far as lay in his power, which this now did not, he having sent the patent already to the Earl of Holland. But if the earl would lay down the patent at his majesty's feet, so would he. So it is now given to the Earl of Montgomery. This the bishop himself told our master;¹ and we know not the meaning of this jeer.

But our chancellor² yet executes the office of master of the horse, whether he will get it or not we know not.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, September 20, 1628.

The doctor³ relates that a Scottishman, a bishop in Ireland, who was at Portsmouth when the duke was slain, affirmed to him one particular more of Felton than we yet heard, viz., that when he gave the blow, he said, "God have mercy upon thy soul!" Sir Robert Brooke, who, on Wednesday, invited me to the Rose, affirmed that my Lord of Cleveland, who had but newly turned his back from the duke, and was so near, that he heard the thump, avouched as much either to himself or some friend of his. Which, with other such like circumstances, occasioned a friend of mine wittily to say, "There never was a man murdered with so much Gospel."

As Felton, the last week, passed through Kingston-

¹ Bainbrigg.

² Henry, Earl of Holland.

³ Meddus.

upon-Thames, an old woman bestowed this salutation upon him, "Now, God bless thee, little David!" quoth she, meaning he had killed Goliah.

He hath hitherto, saith mine author, been fairly treated in the Tower, being put into the same lodging where Sir John Eliot lay, and allowed two dishes of meat every meal. Some confidently report he shall be reserved till the parliament, but others say, "Pray God he be not racked and put to death before!" He denies what Savage said, that he had offered him £80 to kill the duke, £40 whereof in hand. And it is thought indeed Savage will prove a man distraught of his wits.

The king, they say, in fourteen days after the duke's death, despatched more business than the duke had done three months before. The fleet went out from Portsmouth, eighty-two sail, and were accompanied with some three score and ten more from Plymouth. It is said, on Wednesday last, being the spring-tide, was intended for their entrance upon the haven of Rochelle. They say the French king is returned to Paris with some despair of winning it, because his works upon the sea were some of them broken down with storms.

Some that observe the passages in court, (saith mine author, Mr. P.¹) say the king seems as much affected to the duke's memory as he was to his person, minding nothing so much for the present as the advancement of his friends and followers. And if any accuse him in anything whereof his majesty might take notice, he imputes wholly to himself; if in other matters, he answers, the party durst not say so if the duke were alive. Besides, he saith, "Let not the duke's enemies seek to catch at any of his offices; for they will find themselves deceived." And whereas Sir Ralph Clare and Sir William Croftes, ever since they were turned out of their places in the privy chamber for opposing the duke in the second parliament of King Charles, have lain within his majesty's house at St. James's, now since the duke's death, his majesty hath banished them thence also. His majesty, since his death, hath been used to call him his martyr, and to say the

¹ Mr. Pory.

world was much mistaken in him. For whereas it was commonly thought he ruled his majesty, it was clear otherwise, having been his majesty's most faithful and obedient servant in all things: as his majesty would make hereafter sensibly appear to the world.

On Thursday, the last week, the heralds were sent for by my lord treasurer, who gave them order to project as ample and sumptuous a funeral as could be performed. And so they brought in proportions of some things larger than were in the funeral of King James. And this must be done at the king's charge, and it is said by some courtiers, would stand his majesty in £40,000, and that my Lord Fielding, master of the wardrobe, would gain by the London measure and lists £5,000, as Cranfield had done at King James's funeral, while he was in that office.

The duke, before he went his fatal journey to Portsmouth, made a will, wherein his executors are the Lord Savage, Sir Robert Pye, Mr. Oliver, and Mr. Fotherty, two of his servants. They have found his debts to be £61,000, which, it is reported, the king will pay. The mourning of those of the court for the duke is to expire at the time of the instalment of the King of Sweden and the Prince of Orange at Windsor Castle by their deputies, which shall be the 25th, 26th, and 27th days of this present.

About the time the duke was slain, Sir H. Yelverton caused at Lancaster, a seminary priest, Gutterich, *alias* Rigby, to be executed, to whom and the other judge he gave at his arraignment most insolent answers, saying they durst not put him to death; and asked Sir H. Yelverton what he meant to write so injuriously against him to the king. "How know you that?" quoth Sir H. Yelverton. Whereupon, the priest plucked the copy of Sir Harry's letter out of his pocket. Part of his prayer at the gallows was, that it would "please thee, O Lord, to accept of thy servant's blood, as a sufficient sacrifice for all his sins, and remember his merits." Whereat the people cried, "Blasphemy! away with him!" and so he was turned off. Sir H. Yelverton stayed in town till it was done.

My Lord Steward is justice in Eyre, and the Admiralty governed by six commissioners.

One writes last night from court that the Earl of Holland had gone from thence in a pet, and returned again before he was sent for. What it means we shall know ere long.

Sir Robert Anstruther's letter to his majesty, dated August 25, signifieth that profane blasphemers, Wallenstein, (who said if Stralsund were chained to Heaven, he would force it to yield), was beaten from the siege thereof with the loss, at one clap, of 5000 men and ten pieces of ordnance.

The Greenland fleet is returned very rich ; for, whereas the merchants, about the end of May last, adventured but £5000, their ships have brought home the value of £18,000.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, Monday, September 23, 1628.

On Sunday, September 7, the fleet broke ground, hoisted up their sails to have gone to sea ; but, the wind slacking, sailed but to the farthest point of the Isle of Wight, whence, at two o'clock next morning, with a fair wind, they went to sea, and that night came over against Plymouth, where they found the rest of the fleet come forth of the haven, and attending their coming ; and so set forward together, being in all, they say, near two hundred sail, whom God speed and prosper.

On Monday, the sheriff of Middlesex having met the sheriff of the next county, received one Mr. Robert Savage a prisoner, and, in the close of the evening, with forty horsemen, delivered him in the Tower. This gentleman had lain in Nottinghamshire, at the Earl of Newcastle's ; and amongst the servants said the duke would ere long be killed. Yea, the day before it, said, he was that day killed ; and, after the news came down, said, " Felton had done it," seeming thereby to have been privy to it before the execution.

Their majesties came on Wednesday last to Windsor,

whence the king sent for the council, the two lord chief justices, and Mr. Attorney, to consider, as is like, in what manner to proceed against the forenamed prisoner, as also against one of Salisbury, who, as we hear, should say, "It was well the duke was dead; for had he lived till the 3rd of September, it would have been a bloody day."

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, September 27, 1628.

You shall receive by this such intelligence as we had on Saturday last from London, to wit, as followeth :—

London, September 19, 1628.

The news of the King of Spain's death is now quite silenced; but it is true they say that the Duke of Modena was coming thence ambassador hither, and was already come into France onward on his journey, where, meeting with the news that the duke was slain, he returned back again.

Notwithstanding that, on yesterday was sennight, all the heralds were consulting with my lord treasurer to project as great a funeral for the duke, as ever any subject of England; nevertheless, the last night, at ten of the clock, his funeral was solemnized in as poor and as confused a manner as hath been seen: marching from Wallingford House, over against Whitehall to Westminster Abbey, there being not much above a hundred mourners, who attended upon an empty coffin, borne upon six men's shoulders; the duke's corpse itself being there interred yesterday, as if it had been doubted the people, in their madness, might have surprised it. But to prevent all disorders, the train bands kept a guard on both sides of the way all along from Wallingford House to Westminster church, beating up their drums loud, and carrying their pikes and muskets upon their shoulders, as in a march, not trailing them at their heels, as is usual in mourning. As soon as the coffin was entered the church, they came all away without giving a volley of shot at all. And this was the obscure catastrophe of that great man. The cause of this

unexpected alteration of the intended funeral pomp is said to be, because, on Sunday last, my lord treasurer, the Earl of Rutland, Mr. Oliver, and Mr. Fotherty, two of the duke's servants, moved his majesty, that all that charge projected might be spared, and go to the payment of his debts, which his majesty yielded unto. Others say it was concluded in council. Some that there is some foul treason of his like to be discovered, which made this abatement in the sumptuousness of his funeral. Some that my Lord of Canterbury hath letters to such purpose.

A certain lord, being an active privy counsellor, told Judge Yelverton lately that, by his executing that priest or Jesuit at Lancaster assizes, he had marred all. "For," said his lordship, "the king hath sent my Lord of Carlisle into Italy, to conclude a peace between his majesty, on the one side, and the Pope, Emperor, and King of Spain on the other side, and that his majesty, making some acknowledgment to the pope, all should be well, and all friends." Which, if it be true, as it was told me, saith mine author, from a good hand, it was the duke's preamble to have introduced Popery hither. And to that end, he sent, before his death, Endymion Porter, not into Italy, (as was said) but into Spain, in company of an Irish Jesuit, to make an overture of peace unto the King of Spain, that king having employed the same Jesuit for that purpose into England, because his Catholic majesty had been informed by him how much the Catholic party was now favoured in Ireland, and permitted to build friaries and nunneries.

John Felton, whose anagram is, *No, flie not!* some say yet shall be reserved till the parliament, which goes on most assuredly at the time appointed, which will be Monday come month.

Judge Richardson, upon an information Sir H. Hungate had made against his slow proceeding against Felton's mother, sister, and brother, has almost been turned out of his place, a writ of ease being ready under seal to have sequestered him: but now, by means of his lady and her kindred, is very lately reconciled to his majesty, and all is well again.

Propositions found in Felton's trunk at the same time he slew the duke.

1. *There is no alliance nearer to any one than his country.*

“Except his God and his own soul,” said the divines sent to instruct him.

2. *The safety of the people is the chiefest law.*

“Next the law of God,” said those divines.

3. *No law is more sacred than the safety and welfare of the commonwealth.*

“Only God's law is more sacred,” said the divines.

4. *God himself hath enacted this law, That all things that are for the good, profit, and benefit of the commonwealth should be accounted lawful.*

The divines, “We must not do evil, that good may come thereon.”

These four propositions, before the act done, he held absolutely; but, having been conferred with by divines, now doth reject them so far as the forementioned limitations. On Monday last, September 22, two grave and learned divines were sent to him by order from his majesty, to try if, by working upon his conscience, they could get out of him who were his complices and confederates. They found the man exceeding penitent for the blood he had shed, and no way arrogating to himself the good that might come of that act, but taking all the evil to himself, and ascribing all the good to God Almighty. And withal he protested upon his salvation that no living creature was ever made acquainted with his intent. That he took his first resolution on Monday, the 18th of August, but six days before he acted it; and that his only confederate and setter on was the remonstrance of the parliament, which he then verily thought in his soul and conscience to be a sufficient warrant for what he did upon the duke's person. Now he makes two suits to his majesty; the one is, that he may receive the communion before he suffer death, and the other, that until then he may be permitted to wear sackcloth about his loins, to sprinkle ashes upon his head, and to carry a halter about his neck, in testimony of his

repentance for shedding the blood of a man, and that so suddenly, as he had no time to repent.

That his own blood is for the satisfaction of the law, and he is confident that the blood of Christ shall wash away this and all other his sins. Thus to this effect I was told this morning by one of those two divines.

Another friend told me that on Tuesday morning, some of the lords being with him, my Lord of Dorset told him, "Mr. Felton, it is the king's pleasure you should be put to torture to make you confess your complices, and therefore prepare yourself for the rack." To whom Felton, "I do not believe, my lord, that it is the king's pleasure, for he is a just and a gracious prince, and will not have his subjects to be tortured against law. I do affirm again upon my salvation that my purpose was known to no man living, and more than I have said before I cannot. But if it be his majesty's pleasure, I am ready to suffer whatsoever his majesty will have inflicted upon me. Yet this I must tell you by the way, that if I be put upon the rack, I will accuse you, my Lord of Dorset, and none but yourself." They left him then without putting him to the rack, and it is thought he shall not be racked at all.

The same day, in the afternoon, my lord keeper, lord treasurer, Earl of Dorset, Viscount Dorchester, Mr. Attorney, Sir John Finch, Sir Thomas Fanshaw, and Sir Henry Hungate were at the examination of Savage, sent prisoner hither from Nottingham for saying that Felton would have hired him to have killed the duke for eight score pieces, whereof forty in hand, and some other idle words. Now Felton is found to have been so poor, as he was not able to pay for a copy of the Remonstrance, and utterly denies that ever he knew or had any thing to do with Savage. In fine, one told me, that was present, their lordships pronounced Savage both a fool and knave, and were not able to discern whether any attribute were more proper unto him.²

¹ "He was said to have spoken much after the same manner once before unto my Lord Conway."—*Note of Mr. Mead.*

² "Some say, Mr. Attorney, to try him, caused one to be brought in disguise and manacled, as if it had been Felton, and he affirmed it was Felton, and he knew him well."—*Note of Mr. Mead.*

This morning, some of their lordships went to the Tower to examine (as I heard saith, mine author one Mr. Gill, son to the schoolmaster of Paul's, and lately his usher,) the cause of his commitment being, some say, for drinking an health lately at Oxford to the confusion of the duke and of all that loved him: others for speaking words concerning his majesty and the duke: others, that he wrote a letter to one Pickering, at Oxford, for which he is called in question, and Pickering in prison with him.

It is talked from divers hands that my Lord Mountjoy, rear admiral of the fleet, and one of the Earl of Lindsey's sons, were in a mutiny shrewdly beaten by the sailors.

The fleet went from Plymouth, 160 sail, the 10th of this month, whereof 19 fireships.

Lord Viscount Dorchester to the Earl of Carlisle.

Hampton Court, September 30, 1628.

All your friends and servants concurring with me in expectation to see your lordship shortly, I might the better forbear of giving you the trouble of any more letters; especially since here is small or no alteration since my last to your lordship by Mr. Wood, from Southwick, wherein I gave your lordship the state of our affairs upon the duke's death, and my opinion of the future, which I have yet no cause to change, neither do I believe shall hereafter, the king our gracious master holding in his hands the total direction, and leaving the executory part to every man within the compass of his charge. And all charges continue in former estate, save only the admiralty, which is governed by commission.

Whether the parliament will hold at the appointed time or not, is not yet resolved. Neither has his majesty made it hitherto a matter of council; but it being a subject of much discourse, though many are of opinion that the present opportunity is not to be let slip of a presumed desire the parliament will have to make appear by their fair and moderate proceeding, their former distempers were rather personal than real, and that the cause, as they would seem to understand it, being taken away, the effect should cease;

yet others, comparing a people to a sea moved by a tempest, which, though the wind be still, doth not immediately calm, wish time may be taken till the next spring, at the least; and that in the mean time a settled and constant form of government, bringing the king and state into reputation, should work better effects than may be promised upon any assurance more than a conjectural of a sudden meeting. All I can say is, that it imports more than any thing else that I know, as well in regard of home as abroad, that the next meeting betwixt the king and the people should be without our late disorders, and the circumstance of time in that regard very considerable.

There is yet no more had out of Felton than his first free confession, and no torture hath been used unto him; but as his majesty hath allowed time, which is the best trier of truth, so will he have no other means omitted to find out his complices, if he had any. Savage proves an impostor, and will be handled accordingly.

We have here a new Denmark ambassador, upon the old demand of succours; and the States extraordinaries remain here still, waiting the opportunity of doing some good offices, as their colleagues do in France, for the reconciliation of the two crowns, for which some provisional acts have been done, as well by them as the Venetian resident, on both sides, to hold all in state of treaty with reputation of both kings, whatever should be the success of Rochelle, the news whereof holds the court and kingdom in hourly expectation.

Thus far I was gone this morning; and now, this afternoon, his majesty, without putting the business in deliberation, hath declared his pleasure, at the council-table, to put off the parliament till the 20th of January next. *Laudatur ab his, culpatur ab illis*; but surely it is the wisest course, for that *ægritudo*, which was in men's minds, requires time to take it away; and I will give your lordship the comfort, that the medicine of a constant and settled form of government, which I mentioned before, and is, indeed, *unicum remedium*, for the distemper of our affairs both at home and abroad, is like to be applied.

My Lord Brook¹ is dead of his wounds given him by his man, who slew himself. This third example, after the murder of the duke and Dr. Lamb, sheweth a strange fatality of the time. God divert the omen of it, and have your lordship in his keeping.

Mr. Beaulieu to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, October 1, 1628.

Being newly returned out of the country, where I have spent some six weeks, I could not let this occasion pass without saluting you with these few lines, although I have little matter otherwise to present you withal, there being yet no news of any thing done, or attempted by our fleet, for the relief of Rochelle, by reason, as it is reported by a ship lately come, which saw them on Monday was seen riding in that road, that they came a little too late to take the benefit of the last spring tide; so as they were forced to stay the return of them at the full moon, which is about this time. Those of Rochelle were in a treaty with the King of France, and no small distraction among themselves, by reason of their great extremities. But as soon as they were assured by a messenger, that was despatched away to them presently after my lord duke's death, that notwithstanding that accident, which was known the sixth day after in the king's camp, his majesty's fleet was coming to their relief, they gave over treating, and resolved to venture their destiny upon it.

A French captain, named Kirke, hath brought in lately a prize of nine Norman ships, which he took about Canada and Newfoundland, laden with fish, and other good commodities of those parts. He is an Englishman's son, but born and settled at Dieppe, where is his living, which hath been all taken away from him.

¹ Sir Fulke Greville, chancellor of the exchequer. He was staving to an old servant of his family, the disposition of his property, according to a will he had just made, when the fellow flew into a passion at the smallness of the legacy which was to be bequeathed to him, stabbed his master, and then destroyed himself. Thus perished the last of that eminent circle, which shed so much lustre over the age of Elizabeth. Lord Brooke was possessed of both imagination and scholarship, of which we have pleasing evidence in an octavo volume of his lordship's miscellaneous productions, printed in 1670. He was no less eminent as the friend of Sydney and of Shakespeare than as a statesman.

Another prize of much greater importance the Hollanders West India Company have made in those parts, to wit—two galleons of the Spanish fleet, laden with gold and silver, and other rich commodities, to the value, as it is reported, of £400,000, which they took out of the galleons, because they were too heavy and slow to be brought along with them, and therefore set the said galleons on fire before the Havannah, where they were taken. That rich lading is come into Holland in nine ships of that fleet, whereof there are yet thirty behind in those parts, lurking after some more prey.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, October 4, 1628.

We hear that on Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, September 23, 24, and 25, was St. George's feast solemnized at Windsor, where the King of Sweden and the Prince of Orange were installed by their deputies. That Sir Randolph Crew had been sent for thither to kiss the king's hand, and should be forthwith made a baron, and sworn a privy councillor. That it was said at court that my lord steward wins exceedingly upon the king's favour, and was almost never out of his sight.

That the merchants, especially those of the Turkey Company, refused to pay tonnage and poundage; and that one company had taken up £100,000 worth of currants and programs without paying any thing at all, whereupon it was thought the parliament must needs hold the day. But now I hear it falls out otherwise, and that it shall be prorogued until the 20th day of January next. So it was written from London yesterday.

That our three East India ships, so long expected, are come into Ireland; and that a ship and pinnace, with two men-of-war, which the company had sent out to waft them, being encountered by four French men-of-war, took two of them, and a prize they had gotten, and put the other two to flight. Concerning our fleet, whereof I know you expected to hear sooner all this while, it was written by two or three letters from London, brought yesterday, that

there was yet no news thereof come to his majesty, save only this, that they were come before Rochelle, and the third day after had not attempted any thing. I pray God send us good news of them when they do. It may be, had any good news come in time, the parliament would have held; but the event being yet doubtful, it was not thought fit to adventure the House upon that discontent, which the design falling out ill might unhappily produce.

But now it comes into my mind, I forget to tell you, that I saw also written the last week, that at the duke's funeral the heralds were overnight forbid to wear the king's coats, yet had they mourning given them. What should this mean?

Mr. Beaulieu to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, October 9, 1628.

We have no news as yet of our fleet, which was forced to stay for the spring-tides of the full moon for the executing of their design. Only we hear out of France, that the queen-mother had news of the arrival of the same before Rochelle; and that presently, monsieur, who was at Paris, took post, and much nobility with him, to go to the camp, to afford their service to that action.

While the fleet was there, riding in that expectation of the tide, some of their ships were sent to the mouth of the river of Bordeaux, which possessed themselves *de la Tour de Courdan*, which serveth only to give light in dark nights to such ships as go in and out.

I hear farther, that a trumpeter hath been sent from the camp to the fleet, and another returned from the fleet to the camp, as though they were upon some treaty, which were to be wished, for a good and sound peace. But I hope our commanders will be so wary as to discover and prevent the trap laid for them, and their poor friends, under that fair show.

The 900 Dutch horse, which were raised by Dolbier in Germany, and have been kept on there all this while at the king's great charges, without any employment, are now dismissed.

Of the late duke's offices and places there are none bestowed yet, that I hear of, saving only the chancellorship of Cambridge to my Lord of Holland, and the bailiwick of Westminster to my Lord Montgomery. My Lord of Carlisle was sent for back from his employment in Italy presently after the duke's death, and is now shortly expected home.

Hitherto, the king's aspect since that time seems to have been chiefly towards the lord treasurer that now is, and the lord steward, who also in outward appearance keep good intelligence one with another.

Here is a great rumour of a discovery made in Ireland, of some great conspiracy among the Irish, to have delivered up the country and town of Dublin unto the Spaniards, where fifteen or sixteen of the pretended conspirators have been clapped up in prison. But it is thought it will prove but a device to have entrapped the goods and lands of those men, and specially of one of them, whose name I have forgotten, who is reported to be very rich.

The king is not expected here till Allhallow-tide, and then he doth intend presently to go to Newmarket.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, October 11, 1628.

The news we received on Saturday was as followeth:— That on Tuesday and Thursday, the last week, the king and queen were in London, and both days, as they returned to Hampton Court, visited the duchess¹ at Chelsea. That the duke's jewels were legally appraised at £300,000, nor could amount to less, for as much as King James gave him all Queen Anne's jewels. Yet the same duke pawned the jewels of the crown in the Low Countries for a trifle, for £50,000; and to our great dishonour every one might see them that would.

That the duchess hath confirmed unto her, for her own and her son's life, Roper's office, in the King's Bench, worth £4000 a-year: and that some talked (but mine author

¹ Buckingham.

would not believe it) as though the profits of the Admiralty here, and the customs of Ireland also, should for twenty-one years to come be applied to the duchess and her children.

That a parliament in Ireland, summoned by the lord deputy without commission, or the king's notice only by direction from the duke, was now to be revoked. Of which you may guess what people will talk of the duke's purposes.

That a gentleman on Saturday, (now this day fortnight) who went over into Flanders with Endymion Porter to fetch home to his parents a young gentleman, that had studied three years in the Jesuits' college at Douay, being with Sir Robert Cotton, told him that in the archduchess's country he found the Jesuits extremely daunted and dejected at the duke's death; and heard a great father of that order wish, that Felton's knife had been in his heart, so the duke had escaped, whose untimely death, he confessed, was the greatest blow their society ever had.

My Lord Danvers, Earl of Danby, is to go lord deputy¹ of Ireland.

Sir Thomas Roe,² coming home from his ambassage at Constantinople in the *Samson* of London, was fought withal twenty-six hours by four galleys of Malta; the quarrel being about a sea compliment, the Maltese commanding ours to strike their flag for the great masters of Malta, and ours bidding them strike for the King of England. That Sir Kenelm Digby had beaten two galleases of Venice, which would have hindered him from taking the French, that rode in the road of Scanderoun: and that there he took the two Frenchmen from them, and hath since met with a third, and is bringing all three of them home.

That one Captain Kirke hath been among the French at Canada, taken their ships and ordnance, but sent home 900 French in the smaller vessels to Dieppe, and brought home some seven ships and many pieces of ordnance. It

¹ This article did not prove true.

² One of the greatest travellers of his time, and much employed in embassies to the East, of which he wrote an account.

seems the French were about some plantation there, to annoy ours in Newfoundland and New England.

That my Lord Brooke died on Wednesday morning that week : that his secretary's place of the marches of Wales worth £2000 a-year goes to Sir Adam Newton. His land and lordship descends upon one Greville,¹ his kinsman (somewhat popish, it is thought), saving some £1000 a-year land, which he gave to his sister's son, who was near of kin unto him.

That Dr. Wr.² made of late before the king at Windsor a bitter sermon against such as he stiled Puritans, saying, they were a most pernicious sect, and dangerous to a monarch ; as bad as Jesuits in their opinions. That they held the same tenet, that their head Felton doth, viz., that it is lawful to kill any man that is opposite to their party : and that all their whole doctrine and practice tendeth to anarchy. Thus my author : but whether he were over-informed, I know not, but methinks he should.

That Felton should be dead of a natural infirmity, I have not heard a word, nor any thing at all of him since my last ; nor any news of the fleet since then.

Mr. Beaulieu to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, October 17, 1628.

After a long expectation and many hopeful rumours of the success of our fleet, the news, which the king received yesterday from the lord admiral by Mr. Montagu and Colonel Kniphausen, a German, that came with him, have much nipped our budding joy and almost discomfited our hopes. For whereas, by the general rumours that we had both from Calais and Holland, we were made to believe, that seventeen of the victualling ships were got into Rochelle, and divers of the French ships spoiled and taken, we are now by those messengers too truly informed, that there hath been as yet nothing done by our fleet saving only some skirmishes with the French, which are some twenty-eight ships of war, besides them of the pallasades,

¹ Robert Greville, killed at Lichfield in the parliament service, March 2, 1642-3.

² Dr. Wren.

and a great number of the shallops, and the attempting of the burning of them by some of our fireships, which have been consumed in that attempt without any effect.

A great number of ordnance there is planted all along the shore of the bay to defend their ships and pallisades and to offend us. But the chief that hath hindered them hitherto from executing any thing, and setting upon the pallisades, hath been want of a fit wind, which they had only since Sunday last, if it were there as it was here.

The messengers came to inform the king of those things, and to desire a further supply of victuals for the fleet. But withal there is a bustling, as though there were some treaty of peace in hand, which the Venetian ambassadors on both sides have much laboured to bring to pass. As soon as the king received these news at Hampton Court, he presently came hither to give order about these things, so as I think we have him here for some time.

This day, Mr. Carleton, that came also the same day hither from the fleet, but was despatched away before them, is sent back in all haste thither; the poor Rochellers being in extreme distress of victuals. We are between hope and fear expecting the next news of our fleet, which I beseech God to prosper.

Yesterday, my lord treasurer went in great solemnity to take his oath at Westminster, being accompanied thither with the whole council and a great number of the nobility and others.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, October 18, 1628.

I did fear you would be deluded in Suffolk with another gull of relieving Rochelle; and I find it true by your letter. But alas! the business is much otherwise.

The last Saturday we had but one parcel of news to speak on; and that was of a Dutchman, who coming, or, as some say, being brought, into Bristol, reported, that when he came from near Rochelle, about the end of the last month, our fleet had attempted nothing, and was afraid, whensoever they did, it would be to no purpose, by reason of the admirable strength of the works and fortifications against

them; the ship bridge, wherewith they have stopped up the haven, being not only stored with fortifications and fireworks between the forts on each side, but forty good ships of war riding within between the bridge and the town, to entertain us; if perchance we should (which was not much likely) force an entrance. And howsoever on Sunday somebody had set on foot in London, it was relieved, with many, I know not what, circumstances. Yet, in the event, the Dutchman's relation and conjecture is proved true. For on Tuesday morning last Mr. Walter Montagu came from the fleet to the court with very ill and hopeless tidings; as that all or most of our fireships are, without effecting any thing, sunk by the French ordnance; the French king himself, who was there present with most of the flower of the nobility of France, making the two first shot at them, and was so adventurous in the face of danger, that one was slain by our ordnance within three persons of him. That the quadrupled strength which they have prepared against our fleet, by our giving them so much time, is such, as the works seem now altogether unseizable. Howsoever, that the General my Lord of Lindsey is still willing to stay there, to wait a fitter opportunity of a good westerly, which hath hitherto been much wanting unto them, and might for the time of the year be such a one, as might give some advantage to us and disadvantage to the enemy. But this he is willing to do, so that his lordship may have a new commission for it; and the fleet revictualled, the provisions being near spent: otherwise he demands to be re-manded home.

Upon this news his majesty is said to be much affected, and came from Hampton Court that night to London, to Denmark House, where the council sit hard to resolve what is best to be done in this business. And some think he will be the most inclinable of the two to recall the fleet home.

To make this news the more grievous, it is also said, that the French king would not, upon the Danish, Venetian, and States' ambassadors solicitation, hearken to any treaty of peace, unless that as Rochelle, so all the Protestants of France were excepted out of it; the king having

resolved, Rochelle being once got, to root all the Protestants out of his kingdom, and thought of the means to effect it.

I hear, that Mr. Felton is prayed for in London publicly, that God would pardon and forgive him his sin; and as I think upon his own motion.

On Saturday, was Sir William Withypole to have been arraigned at the King's Bench; but, desiring respite till Mouday, he was carried back to prison. On Monday he was brought thither again, but neither then, as is said, arraigned, because he excepted against the coroner's inquest, grounding upon a statute of Edward IV., yet in force.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, October 25, 1628.

I have not much to send you; the most whereof is a distincter relation of Mr. Walter Montagu's message. He was sent in a pinnace by my Lord Willoughby to acquaint his majesty with the present estate of the service, and of the future hazard, if they proceeded, namely, that they must danger the whole fleet, or could do no more than they had. However, for themselves they were willing to adventure their lives if his majesty would his ships; but then also they must be supplied with a new provision of victuals, the former being almost spent. His majesty is resolved to put all to the venture, having caused twelve ships to be pressed to carry them a month's more provision, and hath despatched the messenger back, with a letter written with his own hand, that they should hazard for the relief of the town even all his ships; and that he purposed not to have it left *re infecta*, whatsoever it cost him.

I cannot hear of above two or three fireships lost, if so many. They have had some intercourse with the town since they came thither, two venturing out to come to our ships, whereof one escaped; the other, being taken, was presently hanged. They were once resolved to have given up the town, and stood to the king's mercy. Our navy came there but three days before the time appointed to yield it up, which as they saw beyond their expectation,

they resolved anew to stand it out. Howsoever, they are in great straits, weigh out their corn by the ounce, and feed upon hides. They were never relieved since they were blocked up, whatsoever message the duke was going to tell the king when the fatal knife struck him.

Sir William Withypole was on Tuesday last week at the King's Bench Bar, and demurred, taking exception at two of the coroner's jurates, as being outlawed men, and so against a statute that saith they should be *fideles et legales homines*; the question being whether these be so or no. The answer to the demur was to be as this day.

The king came on Thursday morning to Theobalds.

Mr. Beaulieu to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, October 30, 1628.

I was hindered last week, by extraordinary occasions, from writing unto you. Neither have I at this present wherewithal as yet to entertain you about the general subject of our expedition, the success of our great fleet, which I do much fear (unless God, by the power and the violence of those winds, work the exploit for them) will scarce prove better than the rumours we have had already of the return of part of the fleet, and of bonfires made in France, which hitherto, nevertheless, I do account to be false, or falsely grounded, howsoever they may prove hereafter, seeing that matters have been in suspense, and the fleet remaining there without making any more attempts until the return of Mr. Montagu, who, we suppose, might be back with them about the middle of the last week, with a peremptory message and command from his majesty (so as I am credibly informed) that they should do their utmost endeavour, without sparing either men or ships, for the relieving of the town, and without hearkening to any more terms. In the mean time, there are sixteen ships pressed, and preparing here in all haste to carry a new supply of victuals to the army; although it is thought, if they do miscarry again in their attempts these next spring-tides, which will be in the end of this week, that they will give over the business, and come back with the first wind.

Sir Kenelm Digby hath taken four French ships in the port of Scanderoon, near Aleppo, after he had forced, by a long fight, the great gallease and other ships of Venice which defended them to give over, and leave their protection. For which action, and his brave carriage in it, he is much commended. As is also Sir Thomas Roe, for his long fighting with the great galleon and other ships of Malta, which had waylaid him in his return from Constantinople, and for escaping out of their hands.

The States' ambassadors here are much troubled, and make a great complaint for a proclamation lately set out, forbidding the carriage of any arms or provisions into France, either by the subjects or any strangers, contrary, as they pretend, not only to the necessary liberty of their trade, without which they cannot subsist, but also to the express leave and declaration lately granted them by the State in this behalf. And it is to be feared that great mischiefs and inconveniences may arise thereof between the two nations, if the proclamation be put in execution.

We hear that the Duke of Modena hath been taken prisoner, with all his staff and baggage, by the States men-of-war, as he was going out of Brabant with a convoy from the infanta.

My Lord Denbigh hath brought the Marquis of Hamilton to the court out of Scotland, upon promise of receiving all manner of contentment from the king, who, I hear, hath doubled his pension to £5,000 a year, and intendeth to bestow the mastership of the horse upon him. But, to satisfy his majesty's pleasure, he was forced from the first night, though much against his will, to take his bed with his young wife.

The archbishopric of York is become vacant again by the death of the Archbishop, Dr. Mounteine, who died the last week.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, October 31, 1628.

This day fortnight, the States' ambassador going to visit my lord treasurer about some business, whereas his lord-

ship was wont always to bring them but to the stair's head, he then, after a great deal of courteous resistance on the ambassador's part, attended him through the hall and courtyard, even to the very door of his coach.

This day fortnight, also, Mr. Littleton moved at the King's Bench bar for an Habeas Corpus to bring Mr. Selden thither with his bail on Tuesday following. Whereto, my lord chief justice answered, that if Mr. Littleton would undertake that Mr. Selden, when he came there, would be bound to his good behaviour, he should have his Habeas Corpus; otherwise, not. Mr. Littleton replied, he had no such commission from his client; and so there was an end of that motion. But on Tuesday following, Mr. Littleton moved a second time for an Habeas Corpus for his said client, proffering withal, on his behalf, that he would bring sureties to be bound for his good behaviour; so it might be according to the ancient manner, body for body, and not upon a pecuniary mulct or forfeiture. My lord chief justice answered, it was not for Mr. Littleton nor Mr. Selden to prescribe a course unto them; but if he could name four sufficient sureties, that would be bound for Mr. Selden's good behaviour in £500 a piece, and Mr. Selden himself in £1,000, then he should not need an Habeas Corpus; for they would enter a rule in court for his appearance.

The same morning, also, Mr. Chambers, the merchant, his plea for repealing his £2,000 fine, and for delivery out of the custom-house of the remainder of his goods, and of his body out of the Fleet, not without some opposition, was at length permitted to be read in the Court of the Exchequer, before the barons there; my lord chief baron, who is still suspended, only being absent. Mr. Attorney answered, he had no commission from his majesty to yield unto what that plea required. The barons said, it was a rare and extraordinary plea; and, therefore, they demanded copies of it to consider against Friday following, whether it were fit to be put on the file or no: and Baron Denham exhorted Mr. Chambers to humility and submission, and not to contend with so high a court as that of the Star Chamber. On that day, Mr. Chambers, accord-

ing to his plea, moved for the justice of the court ; but the barons answered him and his counsel, they had not sufficiently considered of the admittance of his bill, nor could not resolve upon that point till they had, with my lord chief justice's company, a full court. Meanwhile, the barons there present (especially Baron Vernon) made to Mr. Chambers the above-mentioned exhortation unto humility and submission, telling him, withal, what an inconvenience he goes about to put them upon to make them judges, not only of the greatest peers of the land, but also of the lord chief justices of either bench, and likewise of my lord keeper, the father of the law.

The French ambassador of late required the judge of the admiralty to imprison Captain Kirke for a pirate, and to seize on his goods. But the judge sent him back word, if he had anything to say to Captain Kirke, let him entertain a proctor, and put in his bill, and he should have what law and justice could afford. Howbeit, on Wednesday morning last week, without any more ado, a warrant was sent to seize upon the goods ; but Kirke was too crafty, for he had newly convoyed them on shore. And what he hath done in this, or by displanting the French, and placing two hundred English in their fort, under the command of his brother, he hath done by virtue of the great seal of England, and that before he could take any notice of the conclusion of the peace.

The French ambassador is also very importunate for a parliament, for a confirmation of the queen's jointure ; else, he saith, the £120,000 of her portion remaining will never be paid : but, if so, then surely paid. Her majesty is said still to be breeding child, and some fortnight since sent all about the town for muscles to satisfy her longing. Sir Francis Cottington, coming to take his leave of her majesty, and to know what service she would command him to her sister, she answered him, she would have nothing to do with Spain, nor with any person there. He also bringing (together with some gentlemen that accompany him in the voyage) his chaplain to kiss the king's hand, his majesty took exception at his youth, and in his place appointed a very able man, approved both for life

and doctrine, one Mr. Peak, that had been lecturer at St. Martin's-in-the-Fields.

On Tuesday was sennight, certain French comedians, presuming to play before an English auditory in a play-house, whereunto belonged far better actors, were hissed off the stage, and so will never appear more in their likeness.

The Lord Campden, whilom Sir Baptist Hickes, died on Sunday was sennight, and left, besides other legacies, unto his old wife £1000 a-year land of inheritance, and £60,000 in money and moveables.

All tables are put down in court, saving those that stood in Queen Elizabeth's time.

The Marquis Huntley having obtained from his majesty a toleration to exercise his popish religion in Scotland, that brave council, saith my author, told him, "When his majesty shall be pleased to come and be crowned amongst us, we doubt not but he will be sworn to our laws: meanwhile, seeing he hath entrusted us with them, we will see them observed."

Sir Thomas Roe writes he was but coarsely used by the King of Denmark.

Yesterday was sennight, in the morning, by a swelling tide, Westminster Hall was overflowed from one end to the other, and of a great depth. The water came also into King Street and drowned their cellars.

I know you have heard talk the queen should have a convent of eight or ten Capuchin friars; which, they say, are in Somerset House. But it was talked the Savoy should be taken for them, and the master and fellows therein otherwise provided for. But I spoke this week with a fellow thereof, who says he knows nor hears no ground for any such thing, nor could conceive how it should be fit for their order, who must possess nothing, but beg for their dinner and supper, and not so much as be provided for the one when they are eating the other.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, November 1, 1628.

Our last week's news from London was as followeth:—

That on Monday week that night the Lord Marquis Hamilton came to court, where he lay with his lady that same night. For the king would have it so, notwithstanding the marquis pretended his long journey of the same day, and his want of clean linen. Whereupon his majesty commanded his own barber to attend him with a shirt, waistcoat, and nightcap of his majesty's, and would not be satisfied till he had seen them both in bed together. The queen also sent him a posset to welcome him;¹ and, it is said, he shall be forthwith sworn master of the horse, and installed knight of the garter.

Sir Henry Hungate, the duke's bosom friend, is sworn gentleman of the Privy Chamber in Sir William Crofte's place, who hath stood suspended there from any time these three years, ever since he spoke against the duke in parliament; as likewise was Sir Ralph Clare, in whose place young Ashburnham, the duke's nephew, is sworn.

My Lord of Arundel is grown into great grace with the king, and hath resumed his lodging in Whitehall. But my Lord Treasurer is *dominus factotum*, unto whom, the residue, they say, are but ciphers. He diverted the king from that sumptuous funeral for the duke by telling him it would be but a show of an hour; but, if his majesty would do him true honour, let him erect a monument for him to remain to all posterity, which would not cost half so much. But after the duke's burial, when the king put my Lord Treasurer in mind of his own project, and would needs have it presently go on, "I would be loth," quoth my Lord Treasurer, "to tell your majesty what the world would say, not only here, but all Christendom over, if you should erect a monument for the duke before you set up one for King James, your father."

That two of the duke's footmen are sworn the king's footmen, and that the rest of the duke's servants are to

¹ Sir Henry Ellis has omitted this curious illustration of court manners, altered the first two lines, and printed the last two, of the paragraph.

attend the Marquis of Hamilton, as mine author said he heard.

That from Rochelle there had been no news than since Mr. Montagu's departure from hence; but that our fleet, it was supposed, would not stay abroad long, being victualled but until the 10th of November; and it was thought by some that his majesty had, upon a second council, sent to recall it home, unless they could do any thing speedily. Since which, I hear there is a rumour about London, as if eight burghers of the town had been sent to the French king to treat of a surrender, whom the king at first would not admit to tell their message, but commanded to be forthwith executed, till that upon a motion of one of his nobility, to know what their errand was before they died, he understanding it was for a surrender of the town, spared their lives. This rumour is not much believed; but it is hoped, that if our fleet were not coming home before this last storm, there may have been some opportunity of doing something. Howsoever, I am told by one that spoke with the colonel, who came over with Mr. Montagu from the fleet, being sick, that that colonel told him, that if his majesty would venture all the force and shipping of his kingdom, the town was not to be relieved.

On Thursday that week (that is, Thursday was sennight), Mr. Chambers, a merchant, that had, by the lords of the council, been committed to the fleet, because he refused to pay poundage and tonnage, was, by a writ of Habeas Corpus, permitted to have bail, and be set at liberty by the judges of the King's Bench.

PS. I saw a letter, just now, that Rochelle was in treaty with the king, but upon honourable terms, as thereof Monsieur the king's brother remains hostage in the town for the commissioners that are gone out for that purpose; and that now the agents here for Rochelle report the town is not driven to so new distress as was said, but could yet hold out for some months. That though it be hoped that this storm hath broken the French king's chains and palisadoes, and our fleet in such a case might do somewhat, yet it is certain the lords of the council have commanded the Earl of Totness, master of

the ordnance, to appoint clerks in the principal ports of the West to take an account of all the munition they shall find remaining in the fleet, and to put the same in storehouses for his majesty's future armies. So that it seems the fleet is sent for and shortly expected.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, November 2, 1628.

When I sent my letter yesterday, I found I came too late. I will now add some more news upon the stay of my letter, which else you should not have had till next Saturday.

Savage was, on Friday, censured in the Star Chamber, but our *novellantes* could not tell us what his censure was. He is the same man that was at the last Assizes at Huntingdon branded on the shoulder for counterfeiting the Earl of Warwick, or one of his brothers.

One Sir Edward Herne, Bart., was also to be heard the same day, and is like to undergo some great punishment for having whipped a man in good fashion for distributing briefs, for which he was authorized under the great seal of England.

Mr. Attorney General is also to make his answer there, for taking some Star Chamber records off the file, without the order of that court.

Mr. Walter Long, an earnest speaker in parliament, is now persecuted by a writ and messenger from the Star Chamber, for abandoning his county of Wiltshire, while he was high sheriff, and serving in parliament.

Divers merchants, that have taken up their goods without paying tonnage and poundage, are threatened the Star Chamber also. There is a great complaint to the lords of the council against Sir John Saville, the comptroller, urged by the Lord Wentworth, late Sir Thomas Wentworth, concerning large bribes Sir John Saville should have taken from the Papists of the North in making their composition.

Mr. Beaulieu to Sir Thomas Puchering, Bart.

London, November 5, 1628.

I am to serve you at this present in the most heavy and bitter news that we have had this week, of the final loss of the poor town of Rochelle, which, after the lamentable death, by famine, of 7000 of her inhabitants, was forced at length, in the sight of the English fleet (which did effect nothing for them), to yield itself unto the King of France's hands, upon these conditions, that they should enjoy their lives, their goods, and the exercise of their religion within the town; which yet were tolerable conditions, if they were sure to have them kept. But when the town is possessed by a Popish governor, God knoweth how long they are like to enjoy them. This capitulation was signed by the king on the 18th-28th October, and the next day the magistrates and chief of the town came and asked pardon upon their knees. And the same day, after that the men-of-war (I mean, the sovereigns) were gone out of the town, to wit, the common soldiers, with a pikestaff in their hands, and the officers, with their swords at their side, the regiment of the king's guard, and the Swissers, went in, and took possession thereof, and the next day after the king himself made his entry into the town, which advertisement and particulars the king our master hath from the States' ambassadors at Paris, written to their colleagues here; but nothing from his fleet as yet, nor from any other part. Neither do we know where the fleet is, nor what it is doing at this present, this capitulation being only between the King of France and the town, without any agreement made with England.

Here we are, now, in continual expectation of the return of our fleet.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, November 8, 1628.

On Sunday, by letters received from the Venetian ambassador, was all the court and city filled with the doleful news of the yielding up of Rochelle, and that upon no easy conditions, two of them being said to be the razing

of all their fortifications, and to maintain a garrison of the king's in the town. His majesty hereupon looked hourly for letters; but on Tuesday, at night last, he had received none, nor any news from the fleet or of it. So that a gentleman, who was that night present at court, where my lord steward, lord chamberlain, earls of Warwick, Holland, &c., were at supper together, told me, he heard them discoursing, that the Venetian ambassador's news had little likelihood of truth; because, otherwise, the king could not but before them have received some intelligence concerning it. I am glad to hear it was questioned, which at first most men took for truth. How it will prove, I hope we shall hear something to-day; and if it comes before I seal, I will impart it unto you.

Yesterday was sennight was Savage (as I wrote in my last) censured in the Star Chamber. His censure first a heavy fine; but that he may bear, because he hath nothing to pay; to be whipped, to have his ears nailed in the pillory, there to be pulled and rent off; his nostrils to be slit, to be burnt on the cheeks with the letters F and A, or K, and during his life to remain prisoner in Bridewell, and there to have no sustenance at all, but what he shall get by his hard labour in beating hemp. Also, the inn-keeper at Melton Mowbray, who had lent him £10 when he said he was an earl and had killed the duke, is fined at £200.

Your Bishop of Norwich is to be translated to York, and Dr. White, of Carlisle, to succeed him at Norwich.

I will inquire about Purchas. Most men judge of books according as they are affected or disaffected to the argument; and it may be, so did the gentleman you speak of. Yourself hath some delight in such discourses, which those who have not think wondrous tedious and idle. If Hackluyt's books were aught worth, certainly these are much better; wherein you have all and much more ancient, much better digested, adorned with notes, maps, and pictures of all countries, and most of the strange things related in them. I confess I have not read much of them, but only surveyed the chapters and titles. But you, that know the one, may judge of the other.

Mr. Beaulieu to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, November 12, 1628.

You had by my last the sad news of the rendering the poor town of Rochelle, after she had lost 14,000 or 15,000 of her inhabitants by famine, having been four months without bread, so that the remnant of them that have been found alive are reported to look rather like ghosts than men. Among them there were yet left 120 English of 300 that the late duke had put into the town, which have been taken into English ships by the King of France's leave. But it is thought many of them will not live to come into England; for now that they, and those of Rochelle, have bread, they die as fast with eating, as they did afore with fasting. Yet the King of France hath been very merciful to them, in that he hath taken order to have them supplied presently with victuals, and that no manner of disorder should be committed by his soldiers upon them.

But now, sir, our great fear is, that many of our ships are lost by the most violent storms which they have had since the yielding up of the town; for before they weighed anchor from that road, five of them were cast away in one night, and of all the rest we do not hear that there are as yet above twenty or thirty come back, having been all miserably scattered at sea, and some of them seen in great distress, as namely—the rear-admiral, wherein my Lord Newport is, which was forced to cut down her main-masts, and to cast anchor at, a most dangerous place in the point of Bretagne, at eighty fathoms water. The vice-admiral, which had my Lord Morton aboard, is come; and so is the Count de Laval, who was in the Nonsuch; but of the lord admiral, nor of Mons. de Soubise, there is no news as yet.

Madame de Rohan and her daughter, who were in Rochelle, have been sent back, and conducted by a troop of horse to a house of theirs, not far from that town, called Le Parc. Mr. Montagu hath been once more in the French camp since his return to the fleet, and is now coming back with it. It is intended, I hear, when

the soldiers come back, to dismiss them into their several countries; and to that end there are many sent to the sea for their payment, and that of the mariners.

Mr. Pory to the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, November 14, 1628.

Your sudden answer to my late request hath obliged me the more, who thought I should not have sped at the first acting. So by my presumption in this kind you may perceive, that both your person and your sayings do receive often and honourable entertainments in my thoughts. And though some there be, that will not be informed as touching the words priest and minister, yet I will, and rest satisfied with your opinion without arguing against it.

The yielding up of Rochelle, as I heard it described by Sir William Brounbeerd, was as followeth:—My Lord of Lindsey, upon a fair wind and spring tide conjoined, put his fleet in order, and under sail, to attempt the relieving of that town; but when the foremost ships were approached near the mouth or entrance, the wind turning clean contrary, put them suddenly upon the back-stays, not without danger of falling foul one upon another. This the Rochellers beholding from their walls, and despairing thenceforth to be relieved, presently set open their gates, and marched some principal men of them, bareheaded and barelegged, to submit themselves to the king's mercy, who had compassion upon them. He then marched into the town with six or seven regiments, each regiment being attended by a headsman and a hangman, to do speedy execution upon any gentleman or common soldier in the army, that should offer any violence against any of the townfolk. He found them most miserably hunger-starved, remaining but 4000 of 22,000, which were there alive at the beginning of the siege. He caused them to be relieved with victuals: upon the receiving thereof many of them died with the meat in their mouths. Some say the king hath dismantled the town, and cast the ditch, which was of such incredible thickness and height, as the power of all the princes in the world, united in one body, could not have vanquished it but by famine; and others report,

that the townsmen must, at their own expense, erect a citadel in the midst of the town, and thereunto admit a garrison to curb themselves; and that their church must stand three miles, at least, without the walls.

My lord general having sent two Scottish knights into the town and army, to inquire what English and Scots they could find there, the Cardinal Richelieu, who is *dominus factotum* in that world, did most nobly and respectably entertain them, and profess he would do his utmost endeavours to reconcile both majesties; and that the French nation had no great cause to boast of these wars, being 15,000,000 of crowns the poorer by them. And it is thought the French king will make a general peace with all his Protestants, and send the best forces he can against the Spaniards in Italy. But if he continue the war against those of the religion, Mons. de Rohan will join with the Duke of Savoy, and be paid for himself and his army in Spanish pistolets. Yet both he and his brother, Mons. de Soubise and Mons. de la Val, who are both returned hither with the fleet, and they three only are excepted out of the general pardon.

My Lord of Lindsey and his vice-admiral, the Earl of Morton, are come on shore; but my Lord Mountjoy, Earl of Newport, rear-admiral, is yet wanting, and much to be doubted of, as is the St. Andrew, wherein he went; and another of his majesty's ships, called the Experience, whom God send safe home, if it be his holy will. Fourteen of our lesser ships (fireships and others) were driven on shore before Rochelle, ten whereof, by the industry of my lord general, were saved; and the other four were set on fire, that the enemy might make no use of them.

It is thought the peace with Spain is in greater forwardness than with France, there being an ambassador of the house of Mendoza ready to step over from Brussels, together with my Lord of Carlisle; which is by so much the more probable, because letters of marque against Spain have been restrained any time this month; nor do we hear any thing of late of the Dunkirkers; and Sir Francis Cottingham, a man to be employed for Spain, was yesterday sworn privy counsellor.

Sir Henry Hungate (he that continually exasperated

the duke against Felton, is turned out of the privy chamber, and discounted, upon a complaint of my Lady Denbigh to his majesty, having been sworn in a far honester man's place not above a month ago.

About Saturday last, his majesty signified by a message unto Felton, that he should prepare himself to die, and endure as much as could be put upon a man. His answer was, "I give his majesty most humble thanks for doing me this singular grace and favour in forewarning me of my death, which I am ready to embrace. And for torture to be inflicted on my body, I am ready to suffer, being confident that the tortures of my soul are all appeased in my Saviour's merit." It is said, yesterday he was put upon the torture, but I do scarce believe it. Howbeit the general opinion is, that this next week he shall be brought to his trial.

Zouch Townley,¹ a minister of rare parts, that should have come into the Star Chamber, *ore tenus*, for writing of verses "to his confined friend, Mr. Felton," is got safe over to the Hague, where some say he will print an apology for the fact.

Alexander Gill, that was censured this day sennight to lose his ears, &c., being a minister and bachelor of divinity, will, as is thought, for his coat's sake, escape that disgraceful punishment.

These verses, mentioned in the preceding letter, according to an old copy of them, are as follow:—

To his confined friend, Mr. Jo. Felton.

Enjoy thy bondage, make thy prison know,
Thou hast a liberty thou canst not owe
To those base punishments; keep entire—
Nothing but guilt shackles the conscience.
I dare not attempt thy valiant blood to affray,
Enfeebling it with pity; nor dare I pray

¹ Born in Lancashire, of an ancient family of that name, and student at Christ Church, in Oxford, where he took the degree of master of arts, June 14, 1621. He was several times deputy orator of the university; and in 1624 made the Latin oration there, in memory of Camden; printed the same year in quarto, and reprinted by Dr. Thomas Smith, at the end of Camden's Life, and before his Epistles.—*Wood, Fasti Oxon.*

Thine act may mercy find, least thy great story
 Lose somewhat of its miracle and glory.
 I wish thy merits laboured cruelty—
 Stout vengeance best befriends thy memory ;
 For I would have posterity to hear,
 He that can bravely do can bravely bear.
 Tortures may seem great in a coward's eye,
 It's no great thing to suffer, less to die.
 Should all the clouds fall out, and in that strife
 Lightning and thunder serve to take my life ;
 I would applaud the wisdom of my fate,
 Which knew to value me, of such a rate,
 As to my fall to trouble all the sky,
 Emptying upon me Jove's full armoury,
 Serve in your sharpest mischiefs ; use your rack,
 Enlarge each joint, and make each sinew crack,
 Thy soul before was straitened ; thank thy doom,
 To show her virtue, she hath larger room.
 Yet sure if every artery were broke,
 Thou wouldst find strength for such another stroke.
 And now I leave thee unto death and fame,
 Which lives to shake ambition with thy name ;
 And if it were not sin, the court by it
 Should hourly swear before the favourite.
 Farewell ! for thy brave sake we shall not send
 Henceforth commanders' enemies to defend ;
 Nor will it our just monarchs please,
 To keep an admiral to lose the seas.
 Farewell ! undaunted stand, and joy to be,
 Of public sorrow the epitome.
 Let the duke's name solace and crown thy thrall—
 All we for him did suffer—thou for all ;
 And I dare boldly write as thou darest die,
 Stout Felton England's ransom he doth lie.

The Duke's Epitaph.

If idle travellers ask, Who lieth here ?
 Let the duke's tomb this for inscription bear :
 Paint Calais and Rhé, make French and Spanish laugh,
 Mix England's shame, and there's epitaph !

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, November 15, 1628.

Ill news proves seldom false. The woful misery and loss of Rochelle you shall understand by the copy of a letter written from our fleet.

“ From the Island of St. George, aboard his Majesty's ship
“ the St. George, October 30, 1628.

“ The 15th of this October my lord general gave order to shoot off a piece of ordnance, and to put out a pennant in the topmast-head, to give sign for the leading ships to weigh anchor, and to fall on the enemy the third time. Yet were we forced to lead the way in the St. George, having but $4\frac{1}{2}$ fathom of water, we went so near. But then we tacked about at the flood to linger for the leading ships; which at three foot flood came on, but did then as they did the second time, shooting off many pieces to small purpose, and the tide being at the lowest, after two hours' fight, came all off again and nothing done.

“ The 19th of this month there was called a council of war, and a new way propounded for attempting the enemy, which was to go side by side by the enemy with the men-of-war, and to send in a mine ship to the pallsade. But God, who disposeth of all things, had otherwise determined of the event.

“ For on the 20th day in the afternoon, which night we thought to have gone on it, there came news, that Rochelle had surrendered in the morning; and that the king was entered with two regiments of soldiers, promising them their consciences, lives, and estates; but would raze the walls, &c. That all the Frenchmen in our fleet should within eight days come in or be held as traitors save the Duke, Soubise, Count Mapparcee, and the old Duchess of Rohan, Monsieur Soubise's mother, which two were with Rochelle, to whom he would not give any quarter at all.

“ There died in this siege, of famine, 16,000 persons. The rest endured a wonderful misery, most of their food being hides, leather, and old gloves. Other provisions, which were scarce, were at an excessive rate; as that be-

fore the great misery came, a bushel of wheat was at £120; a quarter of mutton at £5 odd; a pound of bread at 20s.; a pound of butter 30s.; an egg 8s.; an ounce of sugar at 2s. 6d.; a dried fish at 20s.; a pint of wine at 20s.; a pound of grapes at 3s.; a pint of milk 30s. It is said through the famine young maids of fourteen or sixteen years of age did look like women of 100 years old. Yea, the famine was such, that these poor people would cut off the buttocks of the dead, that lay in the churchyard unburied, to feed upon. All the English that came out thence look like anatomies. They lived two months with nothing but cowhides and goatskins boiled; dogs, cats, mice, rats, frogs, being all spent before. And this with a world of misery did they suffer in the hope of our relieving them.

“The 28th of this month, all day and night, we had an exceeding great storm, whereby three or four of our small men-of-war were cast away, and many more had their masts cut off by the board. Yet this day is a fair wind, but our ships are not ready to come away. If the wind hold, we hope shortly to come; which God grant, for we have great want of beer and other provisions throughout the fleet. Most part of the fleet hath drunk water for beverage this fortnight, and some this month.”

Thus for this letter.

This news was not known till this day sennight, when it filled the Exchange. I hear other particulars both of their miseries and their yielding; as of thousands that died eating fresh victuals; and that they yielded to the king's mercy, who among other things had granted them the exercise of their religion, without the town two miles off, but not within. But these things I shall be best able to inform you by my next.

Now for other matters we had partly last week, and partly since. That on yesterday was sennight part of Savage's censure was executed, he being whipped from the Fleet to Westminster Palace, where he stood on the pillory, had one ear nailed and cut off close to his head, and, as our latest letters say, his nostrils also slit, his cheek

branded with F. A., for false accuser. For he not only counterfeited divers lords, but accused my Lords of Essex, Lincoln, Warwick, Say, and three or four others, that they had hired him to kill the duke, and after acknowledged that he had abused them. Being thus returned to the Fleet, he should on Wednesday have been whipped to the Exchange in London, and then on the pillory have lost another ear, &c., but his sorrow was so great, that it is said he died of grief on Monday or Tuesday, and so avoided it. His name was Heron.

The same Friday was sennight, also were censured in the Star Chamber, Alexander Gill, bachelor of divinity in Oxford, and usher in Paul's school under his own father, and one Mr. Grimkin, an Oxonian also of his acquaintance; Gill, for saying in Trinity College cellar at Oxford, [that our king was fitter to stand in a Cheapside shop, with an apron before him, and say, "What lack ye?" than to govern a kingdom.¹] 2. That the duke was gone down to hell to meet King James there. 3. For drinking a health to Felton, saying he was sorry Felton had deprived him of the honour of doing that brave act. The words concerning his majesty were not read in open court, but only those concerning the duke and Felton; nor had my author heard any more laid to his charge; but this was enough. His censure was to be degraded both from his ministry and degree taken in the university; to lose one ear at London, and the other at Oxford; and to be fined at £2000. What Grimkins's charge was my author knew not; but for writing somewhat in prose or verse to the same end or dictating it.

Mr. Burton, Mr. Prynne, of Lincoln's Inn, and some others, having been long in the high commission for printing of unlicensed books against Arminianism. Mr. Prynne, on Friday was sennight, even when he was ready for sentence, presented my Lord of London with a prohibition from the Judges of the Common Pleas, obtained the day before, notwithstanding the Chief Justice Richardson op-

¹ The writer appears to have been under some apprehension of receiving similar punishment, for to the sentence in brackets he appends the following entreaty—"Do pray strike out these words afore you let anybody read the letter."

posed it all he could, but was overruled by his three colleagues. Which I hear since the bishops took so ill, that they complained thereof to his majesty, and were on Wednesday afternoon, together with the judges, to be before the king about it.

Mr. Chambers, the merchant, after his Habeas Corpus was on Thursday last week, at Mr. Attorney's motion, who said he had somewhat to charge him with in the Star Chamber, committed a second time to one of the tipstaves of the same court.

There are, they say, the thirty prime merchants that refuse to pay tonnage and poundage, and my lord treasurer is on the other side as stiff to make them pay.

On Tuesday last, it is said, Felton was put to the strapado, and some say beaten with cudgels: but that is not believed.

Dr. White, bishop almoner, preached the powder sermon in the King's Chapel, and inveighed much against the fact.

I send you "Gower's Poems," an old book, not easy to be gotten, and of no great price, 4s. 6d. It is fittest for a gentleman's study.¹

Mr. Beaulieu to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, November 19, 1628.

The greatest part of our fears, God be thanked, is allayed, for our ships of the fleet are coming in daily one after another; so as the greatest, for aught I can hear, are safe;

¹ The surrender of Rochelle, detailed in this and several preceding letters, was one of the most lamentable incidents of Charles's reign. The resources of his kingdom and the courage of his people would have sufficed at any time for the rescue of their co-religionists, had they been properly directed, but neither the designs nor the agents of the king were adequate for such a purpose. The sovereign frequently affected a wonderful earnestness in the cause, which was, too often, allowed to evaporate in mere preparations; and the only real interest he felt was for the success of the favourite whom he so unwisely invested with the command of the inefficient expeditions he permitted to leave his ports for the relief of the poor Rochellers. His political appear not to have been more wisely selected than his military agents, especially the Walter Montagu, whose name has been mentioned so often. He was the second son of the Earl of Manchester, and some time afterwards proved how devoted he must have felt in the cause of the starving Protestants, by turning papist, and entering the service of the French king, who rewarded him with the office of commendatory abbot of Pontoise, and appointed him member of the council to the queen regent, Anne of Austria.

namely, those of the lord admiral, the Earl of Newport, and Monsieur de Soubise, which were yet missing when I wrote my last. Yet I make doubt when all is come that is above water, that twenty at least, or thirty of the whole, will be found lost. Though the success was miserable through the backwardness of some under officers, yet the lord general is commended for his carriage, and the full discharging of his part.

The Dutch ambassadors here have this day had their house, which is Cecil House, in the Strand, burnt down to the ground by a sudden and violent fire, that took in it at four of the clock in the morning, so as the ladies had much ado to save themselves.

This misfortune happened to my Lord Wimbledon, the owner of the house, as well as to them, and came to him as one of Job's messengers, at the heels of a greater, which he received yesterday, by the blowing up of part of his fair house at Wimbledon, which happened by the mistaking of some maidens, who, instead of a barrel of soap, opened a barrel of gunpowder which lay in the cellar, and let a spark of the candle fall in. But the greatest loss which he is reported to have suffered therein, is of his evidences and papers, which have been burnt.

The last week, Sir Francis Cottingham was sworn privy councillor.

Mr. Pory to the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, November 21, 1628.

Do you say that I flatter you? Well, now I have got what I desired, I will flatter you no more. But, in good sober sadness, you have obliged me so by your two last, as, let me do the best I can, I must live and die your debtor.

Your "Politie Puritan" was christened, indeed, by that name, in King James's time, though born in many ages before, whereas our great, great, great grandfathers stood more bravely, and prevailed more for the liberties of their country than we can or dare do now. Yet our merchants of late, grounding themselves upon the Petition of Right,

have taken home their goods without paying tonnage and poundage, offering their bonds to the customers to pay his majesty what was due by law, or that the customers should take what part of their goods they pleased, so they would be bound to answer back again what might be evicted by law.

The Sampson, a ship of £200,000 value, being now returned out of the Straits, the captain himself had a commandment from the Lords not to deliver any goods to the merchants, but to unlade the same into lighters appointed by their lordships to be landed at Custom House Quay, and there deposited in the king's store-house till the tonnage and poundage were paid; and for assistance on Wednesday last, were sent a sergeant-at-arms, twelve yeomen of the guard, and some messengers, all in their liveries. The generality of the merchants say they will let their goods lie, and will pay neither tonnage nor poundage till his majesty do evict it from them by law. And so, on Thursday next, I have heard, the cause should come to a trial in the Court of the Exchequer. Meanwhile, there is this afternoon a great consultation of the Lords, his majesty being present at Whitehall, whether his majesty should proceed by way of force or by way of parliament.

On Monday last, one Mr. Robert Tyrwhit, his majesty's servant, lost unto Sir Francis Foljambe, by sentence in the Common Pleas, £800 a-year land, notwithstanding his majesty had sent to every judge in particular on the behalf of his servant.¹ * * * *

On Wednesday morning, about four of the clock, a flame was seen break out of a beautiful and richly furnished house of the same lord in the Strand, where the States' ambassadors have lodged these three or four years. It is now, with all the curious pictures and rich hangings, burnt and demolished to the ground, and the cellar is yet burning like a furnace, being filled with fuel. The poor ambassador, his wife, and servants, were fain to run away half ready and half unready, and that which grieves him

¹ An account of the conflagration of Lord Wimbledon's country residence is here omitted.

most was the loss of his commissions and writings, about which there was yesterday a proclamation divulged about the town. All this came, as my Lord Totness, a near neighbour, told me, by a careless, sleepy fellow's clapping of a candle to a post in one of the upper rooms, which was lined with fir boards. Some say they were excessive merry that night upon that incomparable prize taken by their nation in the West Indies, described by the secretary of our agent at the Hague in the letter enclosed, yet more largely in the last printed news which came forth on Wednesday. Montança, the place where that fleet of Nova Spagna was taken, is an harbour on the north side of Cuba, the very next to the eastward of Havanna. Montança signifying properly in Spanish, slaughter; where, though as then no human blood was shed on either side, yet bled the Spanish monarchy of a million of pounds, at the least, besides the loss of their shipping and ordnance, an incurable wound to the peerless paramour of that Babylonian strumpet, whose nails are now so pared, as he will neither be able to bite or scratch; for the East India Company in Holland, if they get home all this wealth, will be able to hold him in play till they have by sea beaten him out of the Indies, which I hope to live to see done, and that in very few years. And if the other Holland fleet, yet remaining in the Indies, do chance to light upon the Terra Firma fleet, then is that chimerical, imaginary monarchy blown up into the air in one year. The next you shall hear will be the breaking of his bankers, the mutinies and dissolutions of his armies and garrisons in Italy, Germany, and the Low Countries.

But stay; I hear ill news to-day, and that too true. The Crympen is taken from the King of Denmark; and if Gluckstadt, which commands the mouth of the Elbe, do come to the like misfortune, then is Hamburgh in great danger.

On Wednesday, one Sir Edward Herne, of Lincolnshire, was censured in the Star Chamber for whipping a brief gatherer, with the great seal about his neck, at £50 fine to the party whipped, and £200 to his majesty, with imprisonment during pleasure.

Six men were lately executed at Dublin, in Ireland, for a murder, which conducted to a massacre of the council and Protestants, and bringing in of Spanish forces to subdue that kingdom; which treason, they say, is proved, and some thirty prisoners more to be arraigned thereupon.

Pardon the late coming of my letters; for my Lord of Warwick's earnest business at court would not permit me to write any sooner.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, November 22, 1628.

Being afraid I shall not have sufficient time, I will send you my original letter from Mr. Pory,¹ for the remainder of the last intelligence, and add thereto in mine own, some principal and remarkable pieces, which I received in a letter last night.² * * *

The house keys were mislaid, and could not be found; so that the bars of the outward room to the street were fain to be wrenched out; whereat the ladies and daughters, in their petticoats, were first put out, and then the rest, who were received in the Duchess of Richmond's house. The fire was so suddenly violent that the Lieger could hardly save some of his choicest papers. The rest, with their apparel, furniture, household stuff, jewels, money, &c., was all consumed.

I will now tell you a ridiculous piece, if it may beseem my gravity. Dr. Raven, the physician, having been long suitor to Mrs. Bennet, the £20,000 widow, and being held in suspense, thought, by a more compendious way to achieve his end, so on Wednesday night (her maid, as it is thought, being of the conspiracy, and now in prison), he hid himself in her chamber, and about two of the clock in the morning, came, unready, to her bedside, awaked her, and proffered some service that was not fit; for she, out of a virtuous disposition, refused it, cries, "Thieves, thieves! murder, murder!" Up comes her man, appre-

¹ The preceding, of November 21.

² A repetition of the fires is here omitted.

hends the *Raven*, whom they carried the next day before the recorder, sometime his counsel in his love, who committed him to prison. What the catastrophe will be, I know not.

Gill and Grimkin are degraded ; but for their fines and corporal punishment there is obtained a mitigation of the first, and a full remission of the latter, upon old Mr. Gill's, the father's, petition to his majesty, which my Lord of London seconded, for his coat sake and love to the father.

Savage is not dead, as was said.

Some say order is gone down into Hampshire for indicting of Felton.

Most of our fleet are returned, but sore weather-beaten.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, Sunday, November 23, 1628.

I will add this to my former.

That there is a proclamation ready to come forth, concerning a peace to be concluded with Spain.

The king will not stir from London till the holidays. His majesty is again fallen out with the East India Company, they refusing to pay tonnage and poundage for the ships new come in, pleading for their so doing the Petition of Right, whereat his majesty was so offended that he said he would not lose his customs, nor yet be beholden to the parliament for them ; and presently sent many of his guard to see that no goods should be unladen until his customs were paid, and caused besides many of the merchants to be arrested.

I forgot to tell you, in the enclosed, that the young widow, Mrs. Bennet, had also a third suitor, viz., Sir Sackville Crow ; so they were all three birds, *Finch*, *Raven*, *Crow* ; but the *Raven* hath fared the worst.

Mr. Pory to the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, November 28, 1628.

Yesterday, Felton was arraigned and condemned at the King's Bench bar, there being no jury present, he being

convict by his own confession. The judges, understanding he had not received the communion in two years space, told him, it was either Popery or Atheism put that malice into his heart to commit so barbarous a murder. His answer was, he did it not out of malice, but with intention for the good of his country. "Here is the hand," said he, "that did the deed, and I wish it may be cut off, and then my body disposed at the king's pleasure."—"No," answered the judges, "you shall have the law; that is, to be hanged till you die, and no more." He said, besides, he acknowledged it a horrible crime to deface God's image so by murder; but he had often and earnestly repented him, and doubted not, but as the blood of his Saviour was sufficient to expiate all his other sins, so this also. So the judges condemned him simply to be hanged, referring the time and place to his majesty's pleasure. Some falsely report that he should style the duke a faithful and true servant of his most gracious majesty; but I hear it utterly denied by a judicious person that was by. A lawyer, I hear, at his going from the bar, should say, "How easy it is to rescue and save him, if men had any courage!"

Yesterday, also, was a great question debated in the Exchequer Chambers, before my lord treasurer and the barons of that court. Certain merchants, as you have heard, denied to pay the king anything but was due by law, and, upon those terms, some took away their goods uncustomed; and others offered to take them away, but they were seized on and put in the king's warehouse. One Mr. Fowkes got a replevin out of the Common Pleas, to recover the same goods from his majesty; whereupon, the said barons granted an injunction out of the Exchequer, to stop the replevin. Now, the question yesterday was, whether they had the power in law so to do. My lord treasurer and those barons resolved they had; but withal, his lordship said, they would by no means meddle with the question of right, but did wholly refer that to the parliament, where, he made no doubt, that there would be a perfect agreement between the king and subject. He further added, that some five merchants had unmannerly

and ungratefully, by this means, disturbed his majesty's most gracious intentions; ungratefully, he said, because that company, viz., trading for Turkey, received continual favours from his majesty; having their petitions daily granted at the council board.

Yesterday, also, after dinner, his majesty was pleased to declare himself at the council board, how he would make preparation for a good proceeding in parliament. He knew the Commons would first begin with religion. Two sects there were, which they would stumble at, the Papists and Arminians. For Papists, he would have them all turned out of office, and out of commission, unless they would conform. And for the Arminians, he would have the bishops about the town compare their opinions with the Book of Articles, and to condemn such tenets as were not agreeable thereunto. And, therefore, it hath not been for naught that some have said Montagu's book shall be burnt. My lord steward seconded his majesty, and said it was a most princely resolution, and that he was no good subject who durst oppose it. Yet thought he not the consideration of Arminianism so fit to be committed to the bishops about the town, because most of them were Arminians, but rather that they should be referred to the whole Convocation House. Notwithstanding that, I lately hear the Bishop of London hath, in the High Commission Court, renounced Arminianism. I should have told you that his majesty did except two Popish lords from being put from their lord lieutenantships, viz., the Earl of Rutland and the Earl of Worcester, because he held them to be very good subjects.

Since you wrote to me, I hear that Mr. Cosin is called into the Star Chamber, for denying the supremacy, saying, before three witnesses, that the king hath no more right thereunto than the groom that rules his horse heels. So a doctor of divinity told me. To-morrow, I hear, that my lord keeper is to make an ample declaration in the Star Chamber of his majesty's good intentions for the well proceeding of the parliament, which, God willing, shall be sent you by the next Hobson.

On Wednesday last, one Mr. Carleton, an equerry to his

majesty, was fined in the Star Chamber at 500 marks, for begging of the king one Sir Giles Escot's estate before he was convicted, and for prosecuting his life two assizes together (when as the jury would find nothing but an *ignoramus*) by way of conspiracy with others. True it is, Sir Giles gave a woman a kick, and she lived not long after; and certain women, after her death, affirmed she said on her deathbed, Sir Giles was the author of her death. One of which conspiring women, awhile after lying at the point of death, freely confessed it was a plot. There was a parson also in the business, of whom the Bishop of London said, he must find a hole in his coat, but upon another man's back. He was also fined at £200.

The great prize taken in the West Indies, by the Hollanders, amounts (as Sir Paul Pindar tells me) to £870,000, or thereabout. They have also taken the Brazil fleet, laden with sugars. In that West India company of Holland, the Queen of Bohemia hath one-eighth part left her by the late Maurice, Prince of Orange, in his last will and testament.

Sir Francis Cottingham, they say, is made a lord, and my Lord Archbishop of York a privy counsellor. The speech hath been, my Lord Bedford and my Lord Say are shortly to be privy counsellors.

My lord treasurer's¹ lady, that all her life hath been a Papist, doth now come to church; and the Duchess of Buckingham, turning away all her Protestant servants, and taking Papists in their room, professeth herself Roman Catholic.

Mr. Chambers from his *ore tenus* is come to bill and answer, which will be let die in the Star Chamber. Our fleet that set out from Rochelle are returned in safety, all saving the *Esperance*, a ship, and the *Desire*, a pinnace of his majesty's.

The cellars of Cecil House burnt eight days together.

It is said, the king intends to turn all Papists out of his service.

¹ Weston.

Mr. Beaulieu to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, December 3, 1628.

I do not hear of any intent to alter the day which was last set down for the parliament, although some will ground a contrary inference upon the proceeding which hath been lately held against some merchant, that refused to pay the tonnage and poundage, who first was imprisoned upon some other pretence; and afterwards having gotten his Habeas Corpus, had his goods still detained, and kept by some of the king's guards in the Custom House, till he had satisfied that duty to his majesty, which he still refuseth to do. And, for the maintaining of that right to his majesty, there was a judgment lately given in the Exchequer Chamber, for an imposition of 2*s.* 2*d.* upon the currants, to make up a sum of £7000 by the year, which my Lord of Arundel is to have.

Concerning the peace either with France or Spain, I do not hear as yet any certainty. But if it be in any forwardness with either of them, I think it is more with the latter than with the former, against whom, it seemeth, there are new causes of unkindness received, for their scornful despising and abusing of this nation upon their late victory, for the which the King of France is to make a triumphing entry into Paris, on Friday next. Here his majesty showeth himself very sensible of that dishonour, and much offended against those of his late fleet, that have brought it upon him, having appointed a commission for the examining and punishing of such as shall be found faulty therein.

An English East India ship, that was newly come home richly laden, was miserably cast away at the Texel, being driven thither by a violent wind from the Downs.

Mr. Pory to the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, December 5, 1628.

This day sennight, at evening, his majesty sent command to the sheriff of Middlesex that he should, Saturday morning last, take Felton out of the Gate-house, and hang

him at Tyburn between eight and nine in the morning, which was accordingly done. His majesty commanded also that he should be buried where other common malefactors used to be. But by that time he was cut down there came a countermand post from his majesty, that his corpse should be returned back to the Gate-house, from whence, on Sunday last, it was carried in a coach towards Portsmouth, there to be hanged up in chains upon the highest tower. Some say it was intercepted by the way, which I do not believe.

Being come to the place of execution, he first gave God thanks for vouchsafing him so long a time for repentance, and also for removing the fear of death from him. He then magnified his majesty's grace and clemency, and prayed God to give him a long and happy reign, and that his heart and the hearts of the parliament might be knit together. He prayed also for the King of Bohemia and the queen, and last of all, for our queen. He extolled the Duchess of Buckingham for being so noble as to forgive him that heinous crime, and said he could have been content his body should have suffered exquisite torture, to have given her satisfaction. Besides, he asked forgiveness of all the duke's servants, even to the very scullion boy. He entreated the people not to abuse the poor hangman, because he did but his duty. In fine, those that stood by do report that he died a most pious, penitent, and undaunted end. More particularities whereof and of his arraignment it may be I shall send you in my next. After he was cut down into the cart, he moved his lips and raised himself a little upon one end; whereupon some bade an old woman that was in the cart with him (to lap him in his winding-sheet) to give him *aqua vitæ*, which when she either could or would not, they all curst her.¹

Yesterday, here was at the Sessions House, at London, a jesuit, one More, condemned to be hanged, drawn, and quartered. And Dr. Raven (he that offered at midnight

¹ This was the end of the man, who by his fellow-countrymen was regarded as a second Brutus. He was very contrite; and, after acting the hero, died a saint: but he was long regarded as a martyr. Even Disraeli states that "his name may fill a date in the annals of our constitutional freedom."—*Commentaries*, vol. ii., p. 160. Another account of his last moments is given by Mr. Mead. See p. 446.

to steal to bed to the widow Bennet) was on Wednesday arraigned of burglary; and had not Judge Richardson most nobly jeered him out of his frantic humour, he would have persisted in pleading himself guilty, and so would have condemned himself of a deadly crime, whereof he was quite innocent. After he was persuaded not to plead guilty, the judge gave him respite till yesterday morning to consider of his answer; when, having heard him, they condemned him only of ill demeanour.

We hear that six of those ships of Holland that took the Nova Spagna fleet are come safe to Holland, and sixteen more of them to Plymouth, in which the greatest part of the treasure is laden, which, they say, his majesty will coin here. So he shall gain by his coinage, the kingdom shall be enriched with a huge mass of treasure, and the Hollanders themselves shall also be made gainers, by bills of exchange, or accepting of commodities.

I was told yesternight by Sir Ferdinando Gorges, governor of his majesty's forces at Plymouth, that he had received letters from thence that one Captain Grey, of London, was returned out of the West Indies into Fal-mouth with twenty-two tons of silver, which, at £6000 a ton, amounts to £132,000 more treasure than ever Drake brought home at one time.

Peter Heins, he that was general of the Hollanders that took the Nova Spagna fleet, having sent home his booty, remaineth himself behind with another squadron to meet the Terra Firma fleet, which is far richer in treasure than that other; who, if they dare come out of Carthage, they will not fail to be his; if not, then the King of Spain and his subjects must, one whole year at the least, be without a supply from the Indies. His garrisons in the Low Countries, especially Breda, do begin to mutiny for want of pay. Then what will they and his armies in Italy and Germany do about midsummer?

The Earl of Danby is with all expedition to hie himself to his charge at Guernsey; for news is come to the court that the French king intends, ere long, to invade it and Jersey; for which he prepares some flat-bottomed boats.

Yesterday, about five in the morning, one Mr. Melton,

steward to the Earl of Northumberland, was robbed of £2000, (some say £3000) and slain at a place not far from Charing Cross, called Piccadilly Hall.

The defunct Earl of Desmond's¹ daughter and heir (whom the Countess of Denbigh had gotten the wardship of, to have married her to the Lord Fielding, her son) is returned back into the custody of her great uncle, the Lord Sheffield, Earl of Malgrave, and shall be married, according to her own desire, to the Lord Thurles,² grandchild and heir-apparent to the Earl of Ormonde; and so that great earldom shall be restored to the former greatness, the Lord Thurles being a Protestant, bred up from a child for ten years together in the house of my Lord of Canterbury.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, December 6, 1628.

What is related in the enclosed of Felton's arraignment you will, I doubt not, read; but my author then writing, the morning after, seems not to have received so perfect an information as perhaps he hath since. I have seen two or three other relations by letter agreeing much in substance; but the most perfect from a gentleman of Lincoln's Inn; it is as followeth.

That there had been a rumour a sennight before, that Felton was speedily to come to his trial; but there was annexed to that report that the judges should sit in the Tower, and special commission be granted to that purpose; the day of the arraignment to be on the Tuesday after the term end, which was Tuesday this week. But on Wednesday, last week, when no man expected any such thing, was Felton, before break of day, conveyed from the Tower to the Gate-house, and between six and seven o'clock that morning, attended by the sheriff and many armed men, brought to the King's Bench bar. His indictment being read, he confessed the fact, but added that he did it not

¹ Sir Richard Preston.

² James, afterwards earl, Marquis and Duke of Ormonde. See the anecdote relating to this marriage, in Mrs. Jamieson's *Court Beauties*, second edition.

maliciously, but out of an intent for the good of his country.

Then Mr. Attorney made a speech in aggravation of the murder, showing the heinousness thereof both in respect of the quality of the person killed, and also of the manner of doing it. That he had slain so dear and near a subject of the king's, so great a counsellor of the state, the general of his majesty's forces, admiral of the seas, &c. ; and, exaggerating the manner of the deed, he produced the knife in open court, comparing him to Ravilliac, (at the sight of the knife some observed tears in Felton's eyes) and accordingly desired that, upon his own confession, judgment of death might pass upon the malefactor.

Then Justice Jones, being the ancient on the bench, asked Felton what he could say why judgment of death should not be given against him, without empannelling either jury or examining witnesses. Felton answered, "I am sorry both that I have shed the blood of a man, who is the image of God, and taken away the life of so near a subject of the king, as Mr. Attorney hath related." And lifting up his arm, "This is the instrument," said he, "which did the fact, which I desire may be first cut off, and the rest of my carcass I willingly yield to this court, to be disposed of as you and his majesty should please."

Judge Jones answered, that by the law, if a man strike in the king's palace, he is to lose his hand. But it was his majesty's pleasure they should proceed against him in any other way than that which the law had ordinarily determined in such cases. "You shall, therefore," saith he, "have the law, and no more;" and so gave sentence he should be hanged until he were dead, but named neither time nor place.

Sentence being pronounced, Felton made obeisance, and thanked his lordship; "But," said my lord, "this will not be all your punishment; for, unless you look to it, and prepare yourself for your death, there is a far worse to follow afterward."—"I know it, my lord," quoth Felton; "and know, also, that I have a Saviour, whose blood, I doubt not, but upon my repentance shall wash away, as

all my other sins, so this also. I have," said he, "already made my peace with God, and am prepared for death."

Thus that relation: but there is a difference (writes another friend) in the reports of Felton's words, which had reference to Mr. Attorney's speech. A lawyer that was there told me (saith my author) that the words were, he was sorry he had taken so faithful a servant from so gracious a lord. But another lawyer, who affirms he was within two men of Mr. Felton, saith they were thus: that he was sorry if he had taken away so faithful a servant to his majesty as Mr. Attorney had related. But the author of the former relation hath it a third way, and makes no mention of the differing report.

His execution was the next day, on Friday, in the morning, as I think, though some say Saturday.¹ I saw a short relation thereof in a letter last night; but the day was not named. The letter was from a minister in the city, namely as followeth:—

"Mr. Felton, after he was condemned, wept most bitterly *for that sin*, as he called it—*that great sin*. The divines that were with him had much ado, the day before his death,² to save him from despair. At Tyburn, where he was hanged, he told them that last night he was affrighted with death, but, he thanked God, it was past. He prayed all the people not to justify his fact, but take notice that it was only the instigation of the devil; that it had been no warrant to him if the grievances had been true. He much magnified the king's mercy that he died so easy a death, and had so long a time of repentance; and the good Duchess of Buckingham, that she had forgiven him so bloody a fact. He testified much repentance and faith, and so took his death very stoutly and patiently. He was very long a dying. His body is gone to Portsmouth, there to be hanged in chains."

Thus that letter. When I have more full relation you shall know it.

¹ Mr. Pory, in the letters inserted above, mentions that day.

"By this it should seem he suffered not till Saturday."—*Note of Mr. Mead.*

Mr. Beaulieu to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, December 10, 1628.

Since the writing of my last letter the last week, there are come advertisements hither from both the islands of Jersey and Guernsey that there are great numbers of ships and shallows newly come to Newhaven and other parts of Normandy, with an intent, as they are informed, to invade them; and that to the same end great numbers of soldiers also are flocking into those parts. Whereupon the council is taking order to provide as speedily as they can for the safety of those islands, which it was ever suspected that the French would cast their design upon, to be revenged of the attempt made upon the isle of Rhé, whensoever opportunity should be offered, both in regard of the facility of that enterprise, (those islands lying so near that province) and of their old pretences upon them, as being members of Normandy. Neither do we perceive any such disposition in France to a peace as should make us misbelieve that report, they being there so raised up by their late successes, and this nation so abused in their eyes by their misfortunes, that they will little care for the regaining of our friendship but upon base and dishonourable conditions.

The town-house of Rochelle (which is now called for a perpetual disgrace Bourg de St. Marie) is pulled down, or to be pulled down to the ground, and a cross or monument to be erected there for a memorial of their pretended rebellion. The fortifications to the landward are also to be pulled down, and there are places designed in the said town for the building of monasteries and convents, which make the poor desolate Protestants fear that they shall not long enjoy the freedom of their exercise within their walls.

There came a gentleman yesterday from my Lord of Carlisle, who left him in the way coming home, so as now within four days he is expected here. And it is thought that at his arrival the great offices that are in the king's hands will be disposed of. There is a speech of some new privy councillors to be made, namely, of my Lord of Bedford, my Lord Say, and some others.

Mr. Pory to the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, December 12, 1628.

The last and worst news I must write unto you first, which is, that the Dunkirkers have lately two English men-of-war, the Plain Joan, a very good ship of 250 tons and 20 pieces of ordnance, and another, their men being weak after a long and unsuccessful voyage.

The Jesuit that was last week condemned, whose name is More, is not only reprieved, but pardoned at the queen's request.

Felton upon this day sennight was hanged up in chains two miles on this side of Portsmouth, and so was seen on Monday morning by one that came from Portsmouth some bats' length from the road, and in the same clothes he wore when he slew the duke, which was done at the instance of my Lady Duchess.¹ My Lord Wentworth² of the north is not only made a viscount, but on Wednesday last had a commission, granted him under the great seal, to be lord president of York.

Divers sea captains have been questioned before the council of war for not obeying my Lord of Lindsey, their general, before Rochelle, whose names are Sir David Boswell, a Scottishman, Captain Warehurst, Coke, Marbury, Osborne, Fogg, Roe, Hurry, and Green. But how they shall be censured is not yet known.

It hath been misdoubted by his preparation of shipping and flat-bottomed boats that the French king will have somewhat to say to Guernsey and Jersey, but some think he hath a greater design. He hath written to the Duke of Savoy to give him passage for an army of 25,000 men through his dominions into Italy, there to take part with his subject and friend the Duke of Mantua, or else he must make his way by force as well as he can. They say he is about to accommodate all differences with Monsieur de Rohan, and that Monseur de Soubise is to be included within the agreement, and Monsieur de Rohan to be satisfied with 400,000 crowns.

¹ This is rather inconsistent with her forgiveness of Felton mentioned in a former letter, p. 446.

² Sir Thomas Wentworth, of Yorkshire.

Sir Charles Morgan having brought neither victuals nor money with him to Gluckstadt, his soldiers being 1200, were shut out thence, and also out of Hamburg, and had starved as they lay in boats upon the water, had not our merchant adventurers lent him £500 to relieve them, being unpaid £2000 which they formerly had lent. Some say those soldiers were admitted into Gluckstadt, but not Sir Charles himself. One Captain Mince is now going thitherward out of this river with six ships of his majesty, whereof he is captain. God send them thither before the river of Elbe be frozen. The King of Sweden is retired in safety into his own country, there to winter.

The last Sunday the Muscovy ambassador had audience of his majesty, who delivered only his letters, without a present, to congratulate his majesty's happy attainment to the crown, being the only one that hath come thence since King James's death. It is most certain that my Lord of Arundel hath rendered up his patent of import of currants back into his majesty's hands, which is generally accounted a most noble act, and satisfactory to the commonwealth.

Bishop Montagu, as I am told from a very good hand, did very lately write a letter to my Lord of Canterbury, wherein he did not only subscribe to the council of Dort, but also did reject five tenets of Arminianism, and professed that all that book called "An Appeal to Cæsar" was not his writing, but part was written by some other, which he would discover when occasion should require.¹

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, December 13, 1628.

Felton the day before he suffered had the Lord's supper administered unto him, and his penitence and behaviour was such that Dr. Sutton,² who was appointed to do him that office, said it amazed him, and that he could scarce believe that ever such man had been a soldier; that there

¹ The king favoured Arminianism; and Montagu was raised to the See of Chichester, it was believed, in consequence of professing those principles, which were so obnoxious to the great body of the people.

² Probably Christopher Sutton, D.D., an eminent preacher, and prebendary of Westminster. He died in May or June, 1629.—*Newcourt Repertorium*. vol. i., p. 927.

was no need to move him to more contrition, but to lift him up from danger of despair. That afternoon, which was Friday, by his majesty's leave, were the Earl and Countess of Arundel and the Lord Maltravers, their son, with him, he being of their blood. They brought him money to give away, and a winding sheet; but the last, as it seems, in vain.

The speech was still that my lord steward should be admiral, the lord chamberlain lord steward, and either the Earl of Carlisle or Lord Carleton lord chamberlain. On Monday that week died two great projectors, Sir Simon Harvey and Velvet Wood; they mourned in court for the first in sack and claret, and those of the city were much like affected for the latter.

Mr. Beaulieu to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, December 17, 1628.

To prevent the danger threatened to the islands of Jersey and Guernsey, whereof I informed you by my last, my Lord of Danby is appointed to repair thither—I mean, to his government of Guernsey—with four good ships, which shall serve for the guard of both the islands, and is within few days to take his journey thither; although, for my part, I am persuaded that he might well spare that labour for any danger that is really intended to those places, because I do not conceive that the King of France hath in himself any desire to exasperate matters any farther with this state; and though he had, yet that he would not do it at this time, when, as by our last advertisements we are informed, he is farther off an accommodation with the Spaniards about the matters of Italy than he was before. So as I hear, he is now about to send the Marquis de Coeuvre thither, with 20,000 men: and moreover, upon the return of a courier which the Venetian ambassador here had sent to his colleague in France about their mediation of the peace between these two States, I hear there are very good hopes conceived of the conclusion thereof; therefore we do expect to be more fully satisfied by the coming of another courier from the said ambassador, which is upon

the way. And on the contrary, I do hear there is a stop in the treaty with Spain, whether really to break it off, or only to suspend it by reason of the approaching parliament, time will declare. For I suppose, and so I hear, that on the Spanish side there is none but good disposition thereunto.

On Sunday last my Lord Carleton was sworn principal secretary, in the place of my Lord Conway, who is made president of the council; the Earl of Marlborough having been content, by reason of his bodily infirmities, to give over that place, and to withdraw himself to a private life.

Mr. Pory to the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, December 19, 1628.

As touching Bishop Montagu, I hear, moreover, that he hath renounced five main propositions of Arminianism, touching predestination, general grace, free will, &c.; and that part of his appeal he avows, and part he disclaims, as done by some other authors, upon whom he will lay it.

The last Friday I was ignorant how my Lord of Canterbury, the day before, was received out of his barge into Whitehall by the archbishop and the Earl of Dorset, and by them publicly accompanied through the court to his majesty, whose hands he kissed, and from whom he received much profession of favour, his majesty enjoining him to be present, twice a week at least, at the council-table.

On Friday last there was a meeting of the bishops, with his grace at Lambeth, about *sopiting*, as they term it, the controversies of this present time, being occasioned by that letter of Montagu's to the archbishop, who meeting on Monday at the same place, again resolved both parties should be restrained from printing.

On Saturday the king and queen, to make the world take notice how highly they favoured the Earl of Arundel, took his lordship, my lord steward, my Lord of Holland, and his lady, into the coach with them, went to Arundel House, viewed the whole house, as yourself and I did, and made as much demonstration of favour to the owner

of it, as a king and queen could do to a subject. In gratitude of which favour my Lords of Arundel and Maltravers went to Whitehall, to kiss the hand of her majesty.

On Saturday it was also resolved, in full council, his majesty being present, that the parliament should hold at the time appointed.

On Sunday morning my Lord Carleton was sworn secretary in my Lord Conway's place, and his lordship lord president of the council in the Earl of Marlborough's place, and the earl stripped of all offices save his privy counsel-ship. And into my Lord Carleton's place of vice-chamberlain my Lord Barrett, now chancellor of the exchequer, is to be removed, that Sir Francis Cottingham may enjoy his place, which is worth ten of the vice-chamberlain's; and therefore my Lord Barret, before he parts with his chancellor's place, expects a very great satisfaction, having, for the duke's procuring, assured the reversion, after his own death, of £1200 a year land, upon the Earl of Anglesea.

On Tuesday, his majesty went to Theobalds, and is to return thence to-morrow. On Wednesday, a proclamation was published against one Smyth, a Popish priest, being a mountebank titular bishop of Chalcedon, and having, amongst a company of geese, in Lancashire, appeared in his *pontificalibus*, with his horned mitre and crooked crosier, and having sought to draw some idiots from his majesty's allegiance.

The duke's executors will not proceed with his will until the parliament be passed, not knowing what after-clap may attend his memory, his estate, his posterity, and his kindred and allies.

Here is a ship very lately arrived at Falmouth, out of the East Indies, called the William, of 900 tons burden, being the richest that came this good while thence, and valued at £25,000, having aboard 800 bales of silk, besides pepper, indigo, calicot, and other commodities.

My Lord of Carlisle is come to the Hague, and will be here the next fair wind. The Earl of Danby is now suddenly to depart towards his charge at Guernsey, to defend

the isle against the French. Notwithstanding, I heard yesterday, that the Venetian and States' ambassadors at Paris had very far advanced the treaty between us and France, having removed, by strength of argument, the main obstacles, namely—the sending back of the French officers to the queen's household, and that to the satisfaction of that king and council. And here is now a present of horses and dogs sending over into France, although our merchants, being banished out of Calais, have carried their goods thence by land into the archduchess's country, whether now it is at this present lawful for us, or the Hollanders, or any other nation, to carry victuals.

At this time also, by licence from both kings, there are going six ships from hence for Malaga, in Spain, laden with corn, butter and cheese, cloth, kersey, bays, and Norwich stuffs. Those nine captains that were found fault withal by my Lord of Denbigh, must either put in sufficient bail for their appearance at a marshal's court, or else lie for the interim in Marshalsea.

My Lord of Holland hath, by the industry of one Mr. Clifford, found out a rich booty, which will be worth £40,000, that lay concealed in the hands of Burlamachi, Calandrini, and other cunning merchants, being a thing called pirate-money, which was two in the hundred upon merchandise, collected first for setting forth of the Algiers fleet, and divers years after continued, and never accounted for till it was now brought in question. Mr. Clifford is to have one-fifth, that is £8000, for his share.

My Lord Desmond's daughter and heir, now in the custody of the same earl, is designed for a wife for the young Duke of Lennox.

About the midst of Michaelmas term the high sheriff of Dorsetshire had order to raise *possé comitatus*, to attack those unfencers of Gillingham forest, which, about a week before the term, had burnt forty of the Lords' letters, and forty processes out of the Star Chamber, and whipped the messengers at a post. But it seems, because he finds them too strong and resolute to be meddled withal, for they are a great and well-armed number, and say, "Here

were we born, and here we will die!") he is fain as yet to let them alone.

My Lord of Dorset is selling of Salisbury Court to the Earl of Rutland for £30,000. Felton, they say, is carried away, gibbet and all: no man can tell whither.¹ Of the Hollanders' rich fleet eight are come home, so that there is not one missing. Their buying up English money at Plymouth, for their bars of silver and ingots of gold, made money very scarce at Exeter fair.

Those papists, that were arraigned here at the Sessions House, together with More, the Jesuit, are released upon bail, to appear upon fifteen days' summons. Mr. Attorney's bill of fees for drawing the conveyances from the king to the city, of that land they lately purchased from his majesty, doth amount to £23,000.

Yesterday there was a paper put into the window of my Lord Conway, to let him know that, whereas he made himself the main opposite against the colonels, captains, and other officers, that had served in these late wars, to draw them from nine months' pay, which was their due, to three months' bare pay; he must look to himself, for there is another Felton and another knife ready for his throat, as well as there was for the duke,² and bid him tell his great friend, the lord treasurer, as much. So now my Lord Wimbledon takes that distasteful part upon him, my Lord Conway giving fair words.

¹ The homicide was thought to be too good a patriot, to be left swinging in the air till he dropped to pieces. He had fulfilled the sentence of the popular judgment, which now interfered to rescue its agent from the most degrading portion of the punishment it had brought upon him.

² In this way, Buckingham was threatened long before his fate overtook him, when the vengeance of the populace fell so relentlessly upon the unfortunate charlatan who had the misfortune to be his physician.

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

Page 1—"Whitehall, 31st March, 1625."

The reader is requested to bear in mind that the "Old Style" of reckoning was employed in England at this period and long afterwards, though the New Style, according to the Gregorian Calendar, was in general use on the continent. The difference in the two modes of dating amounting to eleven days, and as, in accordance with the reformed calendar, New-year's Day did not commence till the 25th of March,—all letters dated from the first of January till that day belong to the year following that on which they were dated.

Page 2—Note—"Sir Dudley Carleton."

His correspondence during the five years he was employed as ambassador to the States' General was published in 1757 by Lord Royston, afterwards Lord Hardwicke. A more interesting series of his letters have been printed in the collection recently published, illustrating "The Court and Times of James I."

Page 7, line 1—"Sir Henry Fane."

Sir Henry Vane the elder, of Hadlow, in Kent, and Raby Castle, Durham: subsequently secretary of state and treasurer of the household. See several of his letters in *Hardwicke State Papers*.

Page 8, line 3—"Earl of Suffolk."

Lord Thomas Howard of Walden, created Earl of Suffolk, July 21, 1603, and made Knight of the Garter. Having been instrumental in the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot, he obtained considerable influence at court, was made chancellor at Cambridge, in 1613, and lord high treasurer in the following year, of which office, however, he was deprived in 1618. He died May 28, 1626.

Page 8, line 3—"Middlesex."

Lionel Cranfield, created Earl of Middlesex, was also lord treasurer, but was dismissed in consequence of notorious bribery and corruption.

Page 8, line 3—"Bristol."

Sir John Digby, Baron Digby and Earl of Bristol, who had been employed in several embassies in the preceding reign. The jealousy with which he was regarded by Buckingham made him desirous of retiring from court.

Page 8, line 4—"Viscount Wallingford."

William Knollys, in the reign of Elizabeth, treasurer of the household, created Lord Knollys of Grey, by James I.; in the same reign was master of the wards, knight of the Garter, and was created Viscount Wallingford in 1616.

Page 8, line 4—"St. Albans."

Bacon.

Page 9, line 3—"Sir George Goring."

Created Baron Goring on the 14th April, 1632. He was subsequently employed in the posts of secretary, clerk of the signet, and clerk of the council within the Principality of Wales. At the breaking out of the Civil War, he rendered important services to the crown, for which he was advanced to the dignity of Earl of Norwich, November 8, 1644. He died in 1662.

Page 9, line 6—"Wat Montague."

Second son of the Earl of Manchester.—See Note, p. 432, and some notices of him in the Memoirs of the Capuchins, vol. ii., of this work.

Page 9, line 7—"Sir Walter Aston."

At the coronation of James I. he received the order of the Bath, and in 1611 was created a baronet. In 1622 he performed some services in Spain, to advance the negotiations for a marriage with the Infanta, and on November 28, 1627, was raised to the peerage by the title of Lord Aston of Forfar.

Page 9, line 22—"Mr. Henry Fanshaw."

Son of Sir Henry and brother of Sir Richard Fanshawe, of Ware Park, Herts.

Page 10, line 3—"The Lord of Lepington."

Sir Robert Carey, Earl of Monmouth.

Page 10, line 5—"The Lord Coke."

Sir Edward Coke, chief justice of England. He died September 3, 1633, at the age of 83.

Page 14, line 10—"Spinola."

Ambrose Marquis Spinola. One of the most celebrated generals of his time. He took many important places, but not succeeding against the citadel of Casal, he died by his own hand.

Page 14, line 16—"Duke of Lennox."

James Stewart, fourth duke, in 1641, created Duke of Richmond. He held the offices of lord great chamberlain, and admiral of Scotland, lord steward of the household, warden of the Cinque Ports, gentleman of the bedchamber, and was a knight of the Garter. In the time of the troubles, he subscribed £40,000 in support of the royal cause: saying, "I would serve the king in his person, though I carry but his cloak, as well and as cheerfully as any in the greatest trust." He ended his faithful services to Charles I. by helping to place the unfortunate monarch in his grave at Windsor. He died in 1655.

Page 14, line 19—"Lord Brooke."

Fulke Greville, created January 18, 1620-1, Baron Brooke of Beauchamp's Court. He died September 30, 1628, and has this inscription over his monument, in the great church at Warwick:—

Fulke Greville,
Servant to Queen Elizabeth,
Counsellor to King James,
And friend to Sir Philip Sydney.
Trophæum Peccati.

See Note, p. 405.

Page 15, line 21—"Maurice Abbot."

He was brother to the Archbishop, and was a wealthy merchant.

Page 15, line 23—"The Duchess of Richmond."

Frances, widow of Ludovick Stuart, Earl of Newcastle and Duke of Richmond.

Page 15, line 26—"The Lady Elizabeth."

She married Henry Frederick Howard, Earl of Arundel.

Page 15, line 26—"Montgomery."

Philip, fourth Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery.

Page 15, line 27—"Countess of Exeter, Devonshire, and Middlesex."

¹ Elizabeth, second wife of William, second earl. ² Penelope, widow of Charles Blount, Earl of Devonshire, and divorced wife of Robert, Lord Rich; and ³ Anne, second wife of Lionel Cranfield, Earl of Middlesex.

Page 15, addition to note 4.

Lord Holland was a knight of the Bath, knight of the Garter, and captain of the king's guard. After Charles became a prisoner in the hands of the Parliament, Lord Holland made an unsuccessful effort at a diversion in his favour, for which he suffered decapitation at Westminster Hall, March 9, 1649. His lady was Isabel, daughter of Sir Walter Cope, of Kensington, through whom his lordship acquired the manor of Kensington, now Holland House.

Page 16, line 12—"Sir Edward Sandys."

Second son of Archbishop Sandys.

Page 16, line 18—"Marquis of Hamilton."

James, second marquis, knight of the Garter. In 1619 he had been called to the English peerage by the titles of Baron of Inverdale and Earl of Cambridge. He died March 2, 1625.

Page 19, line 2—"The young Lord Burghersh, the Lord of Westmoreland's son."

Mildmay, afterwards second earl, son of Frances, who was advanced to the peerage December 29, 1624, as Baron Burghersh and Earl of Westmoreland.

Page 19, line 4—"Secretary Morton."

Albertus Morton was first employed as secretary to his uncle, Sir Henry Wotton, ambassador at Venice, was subsequently employed in several foreign missions, was knighted in 1617, and made secretary of state. He died November, 1625.

Page 19, line 12—"Sir Dudley Digges."

Member of a family in which talent seemed hereditary—for his grandfather, Leonard, was an able mathematician and architect, and was the author of several works on geometry—his father, Thomas, was also eminent in mathematics, particularly as applied to astronomy, and wrote four or five books on this and other subjects. Dudley was his eldest son, born in 1583, and educated at Oxford. He was knighted by James I., in 1618, and sent ambassador to the Czar of Muscovy, which was followed by other employments abroad. But his reputation was gained in the House of Commons in the reign of Charles I., and his opposition to the court and the Favourite procured his committal to the Tower. The government at last contrived to release him by making him master of the Rolls, in 1636, three years after which he died. He wrote one or two pamphlets, and his speeches are preserved in Rushworth. His son Dudley, and his brother Leonard, also distinguished themselves in the world of letters.

Page 19, line 24—"The Lord of Andover."

Thomas, second son of Thomas Earl of Suffolk, was master of the horse to Charles, when Prince of Wales, and 23rd January, 1621-2, created Lord Howard of Charlton and Viscount Andover. He was made a knight of the Garter, December 16, 1625, and created Earl of Berkshire, February 6, 1625-6. He became a distinguished officer in the Civil Wars, and died July 16, 1660.

Page 21, line 4—"Lord Castle Island."

Better known by his subsequent title, Lord Herbert of Chisbury. His curious memoirs were printed by Walpole, at the Strawberry Hill press.

Page 22, line 7 from bottom—"Sir Edward Cecil."

A celebrated commander, much employed in the wars of the Netherlands, where he became marshal, lieutenant, and general of the forces. He was raised to the peerage in 1625 and 1626, as Baron Cecil and Viscount Wimbledon. He died November 16, 1638. He was the third son of the first Earl of Exeter, and grandson of the celebrated Lord Burleigh.

Page 22, line 6 from bottom—"Sir Henry Poore, Viscount of Valentia."

He was constable of the Castle of Maryborough, knight mareschal of Ireland, and a privy councillor. He died in 1642.

Page 23, line 14—"Sir Henry Yelverton."

He was solicitor-general in 1613, attorney-general in 1617: but, having excited the ill will of Buckingham, he was deprived of his office and heavily fined. He contrived at last to make his peace with the favourite, and, having been liberated from the Tower, received the appointment recorded in the text. He died on the 24th of January, 1629-30: leaving the highest reputation for professional knowledge.

Page 23, line 18—"Sir Isaak Wake."

He was born at Billing, in Northamptonshire, in 1575, and educated at Merton College, Oxford, where he obtained a fellowship, in 1598; four years previously he had been elected public orator of the University. His inclination leading him towards a diplomatic career, and his talents having recommended him to the government, he was employed in several negotiations, particularly with France, the republic of Venice, and the duchy of Savoy. He was also an author of considerable celebrity.—*Wood's Athen. Oxon.*

Page 24, line 10 from bottom—"The Marquis of Hamilton."

James, third marquis. A knight of the Garter, created June 17, 1633, Marquis of Clydesdale, and on April 12, 1643, Duke of Hamilton. He was beheaded by the Parliament March 9, 1649.

Page 25, line 8—"The Lord Sheffield."

Edmund, third baron. A celebrated commander in the reign of Elizabeth, who made him governor of the Brill, and knight of the Garter. By James I. he was appointed president of the council for the north, and in February, 1626-7, Charles I. created him Earl of Mulgrave. He died in 1646.

Page 27, line 2—"Count Mansfield."

A distinguished commander in the German wars of this period.

Page 28, line 5 from bottom—"The Earl of Carlisle."

James Hay, one of the early favourites of the last reign. He obtained the post of ambassador to the court of France and other employments, in which he showed some talent.

Page 38, line 17—"Soubise."

Benjamin de Rohan, duc de Soubise: one of the most distinguished Huguenots in France at this period. After the surrender of Rochelle, he fled to England, where he died in 1640.

Page 39. Note 3—"Apollo Cæsarem."

Appèllo Cæsarem.

Page 47, line 3—"The Earl of Southampton."

Thomas, fourth earl. He succeeded his father in 1624, and at the Restoration was made a knight of the Garter and lord treasurer, for his services to the royal cause. He married three times: but left no issue at his death, which took place May 16, 1667.

Page 47, line 3—"Mr. Croftes, the courtier."

He was one of the queen's pages.

Page 49. Note.

The Earl of Warwick obtained considerable celebrity during the Civil Wars, when he was admiral for the Long Parliament, and was much in the confidence of Cromwell. He died May 29, 1659.—*See Clarendon.*

Page 51, line 8 from bottom—"Polacs, in Liveland."

Poles in Livonia.

Page 56, line 7—" Mr. Knightly."

Richard Knightly, Esq., of Fawley, M.P. for Northampton, 21st James I. and 3rd of Charles, and sheriff of the county about this period. He soon afterwards distinguished himself as a zealous advocate for the supremacy of Parliament. He died in 1657. The present Sir Charles Knightly, Bart., M.P., is his descendant.

Page 56, line 8—" Lord Vaux."

Edward, fourth baron. The Mr. William Vaux mentioned in the text was his lordship's next brother.

Page 58, line 3—" Sir Thomas Gerrard."

A member of a distinguished Catholic family, that had suffered much for religion in the reigns of Elizabeth and James. He was the only son of Sir Thomas Gerrard, one of the first baronets created. The present inheritor of the title resides at Gareswood Hall, Lancashire.

Page 60, line 23—" Lord Exeter."

William, second earl.

Page 67, line 18 from bottom—" The Earl of Essex."

Subsequently the Parliamentary general.—See p. 231, Note.

Page 69, delete note.

Lord Holland was Henry, the first earl.

Page 74, line 23—" Lord Digby."

George, eldest son of the Earl of Bristol. He was a man of singular abilities and of equally singular principles. On entering Parliament, he took the popular side, till the impeachment of the Earl of Strafford, when he went over to the court; was made secretary of state in 1643, and was so active in behalf of the king as to be obliged to live in exile during the Commonwealth. He was a severe sufferer in his fortune by the Civil Wars, but, on the Restoration, was made a knight of the Garter. Of his literary abilities, which gained him a place in Walpole's Noble Authors, we can only judge from an indifferent comedy, called " Elvira ;" and a series of letters against Popery, addressed to his cousin, Sir Kenelm Digby. He died in 1676.

Page 74, line 23—" Earl of Somerset."

The infamous Carr, Viscount Rochester and Earl of Somerset. He died in July, 1645.

Page 77, line 21—" Lord Maxwell."

See p. 130, Note 2.

Page 78, line 19—" The Earl of Annandale."

Sir John Murray, one of the minor favourites of James, to whom he was master of the horse in Scotland, and one of the gentlemen of the privy chamber in England: and by whom he was made Viscount Annand, and Lord Murray of Lochmaben. He was further advanced in the peerage on the 13th of March, 1624-5, by the title of Earl of Annandale. He died in 1640.

Page 80, line 6—" Earl of Denbigh's son."

Basil, second earl, who embraced the cause of the Parliament, in which he showed himself a good soldier. He eventually assisted in the Restoration, and was created Lord St. Liz, February 2, 1663-4. He died November 28, 1675. He was four times married, but left no issue.

Page 80, line 6—" The Lord Strange."

James, seventh Earl of Derby, a knight of the Garter, summoned to Parliament by the title of Baron Strange, in 1627. He was a devoted adherent of Charles, and his lady Charlotte, daughter of the Duc de Thouars, won undying renown by her spirited defence of Lathom House, in 1644. He subsequently fell into the hands of the Parliament, and was beheaded, October 15, 1651.

Page 83, line 25—"Sir Robert Shirley."

Younger brother of Sir Anthony Shirley, the celebrated diplomatist and traveller, with whom he went to Persia, and was sent to Europe on a mission by Shah Abbas, who gave him a Circassian in marriage. The disgrace related in the text so preyed on Sir Robert's mind, that, on his return to Persia soon afterwards, he died July 23, 1627. There was a third brother, Thomas, who also became a great adventurer in the East. And the fortunes of the three Shirleys formed the subject of a drama, called, "The Travels of the three English Brothers."

Page 84, line 19—"Lord Delawar."

Henry, fourth lord.

Page 86, line 11—"Earl of Lincoln."

Theophilus, fourth earl; a knight of the Bath. He was a zealous adherent of Charles I., and at the coronation of his successor performed the office of carver. He died in 1667.

Page 86, line 12—"Lord Say."

William, second baron, created Viscount Saye and Sele, July 7, 1624. He died April 11, 1662.

Page 86, line 8 from bottom—"Earl of Arundel."

Thomas, restored to the title of Surrey and Arundel by James I., created earl marshal in 1621, and Earl of Norfolk in 1644. He died in 1646. His son, Lord Maltravers, was Henry Frederick. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Esme Stuart, Earl of March and Duke of Lennox.

Page 86, line 3 from bottom—"The Earl of Argyle's heir, the Lord Lorne."

Archibald, subsequently eighth earl, whose adventures in the cause of Charles I. during the Protectorate of Cromwell, and in the reign of Charles II., till his head was struck off at the Tolbooth, in Edinburgh, would fill much more space than can be afforded in a note.

Page 89, line 5—"My Lord Grandison."

Sir Oliver St. John, Baronet, created Viscount Grandison, in the Irish peerage. He was the first president of Munster, and was afterwards lord deputy of Ireland, and ambassador to Bohemia. On the 21st of May, 1626, he was made an English peer, by the title of Baron Tregoze of Highworth. He died in 1629.

Page 89, line 8—"Earl of Totness."

Sir George Carew.—See p. 197. Note.

Page 89, line 11—"Sir Horace Vere, now Baron Tilbury."

A military commander of the highest reputation, both at home and abroad.

Page 94, line 11 from bottom—"The Earl of Huntingdon."

Henry, fifth earl. He died in 1643.

Page 96, line 21 from bottom—"Mr. Pym."

John Pym, one of the most celebrated members of the House of Commons, on the popular side. A man of great abilities and unimpeachable integrity. He died in 1643.

Page 102, line 1—"Earl of Rutland."

Francis, sixth Earl, a Knight of the Garter. His daughter, Catherine, was married to Buckingham. He died in 1632.

Page 104, line 7—"Count Wallenstein."

He attained the title of Duke of Freidland, and was the most distinguished military commander in the service of the Emperor. His adventures have been wrought by Schiller into one of his finest dramas, and an excellent life of him has lately been written by Colonel Mitchell.

Page 105, line 9—"Sir Thomas Lake."

Of Canons, who commenced his career in the service of Sir Francis Walsingham, next became French and Latin reader to Queen Elizabeth and Clerk of her Signet:

in which capacity he was employed by James, till he knighted him, and sent Sir Thomas on an embassy to France. He subsequently became joint Secretary of State with Cecil, Earl of Salisbury. He became involved in some unpleasant proceedings, in which Lady Lake was concerned, which obliged him to retire from court.—See "*Court and Times of James I.*" He died on the 17th of September, 1630.

Page 106, line 13 from bottom—"Lord Mandeville."

Created Earl of Manchester, in the year 1626.

Page 106, line 6 from bottom—"My Lord of Walden."

Theophilus, Lord Howard, of Walden. He succeeded his father as second Earl of Suffolk, on the 26th of May, 1626, was named a Knight of the Garter, appointed Warden of the Cinque Ports, Constable of Dover Castle, Captain of the Board of Gentlemen Pensioners, and member of the Privy Council. He died June 3, 1640. He was never *ducal*, as stated in the text, though called to the House of Peers in the life-time of his father.

Page 114, line 17—"Sir Kenelm Digby."

Eldest son of Sir Everard Digby, a member of a highly respectable Catholic family, who was executed for having been involved in the Gunpowder Plot; but, though James hanged the father, he thought proper to knight the son, who subsequently became famous as a charlatan and adventurer, and rose in the favour of Charles, who made him a gentleman of the bedchamber, a commissioner of the Navy, and a governor of the Trinity House. An account of his life and writings would fill many pages. Sir Kenelm survived till the Restoration, when he became a member of the Royal Society, and died in 1665.

Page 114, line 18—"Captain Killigrew."

Son of Sir Robert Killigrew. Few names are more celebrated in the court biography of the Stuarts than the Killigrews. The first that attained any prominence at court was Sir Robert, who received the honour of knighthood, and, moreover, belonged to a good family. He had three sons:—1. William, born in 1605, who, after the usual course of education and foreign travel, became one of the gentlemen ushers of the Privy Chamber to Charles I., and held the government of Pendennis Castle. He was a zealous Royalist during the Civil Wars; and, for his services, on the return of Charles II., he received the honour of knighthood and the post of vice-chamberlain. He lays claim also to some literary distinction, as the author of four plays and two or three loose essays; but his claims were forgotten in the next century. Sir William died in 1693.—2. Thomas, born in 1611, was a page at the court of Charles I., and accompanied his son into exile. He travelled for some years in France, Spain, and Italy, to the enlargement of his ideas rather than to the improvement of his morals: for, on the Restoration, Tom Killigrew became famous as the most licentious of the favourite companions of the restored monarch. His social wit and readiness at a jest procured him the title of King's Jester. He wrote eleven plays; not one of which, we are afraid, deserves to be remembered. He died in 1682, and lies buried in Westminster Abbey.—3. Henry, though educated for the church, had also an inclination for the drama, which he exhibited in a tragedy. His sermons have shared the same fate as his play; and, though he was a Doctor of Divinity, held a stall in Westminster, the living of Wheathamstead, in Hertfordshire, and the mastership of the Savoy, it seems probable that, as a divine, he was only worthy of the unworthy head of his church (Charles II.), by whom he was patronized. He died about 1688. His exemplary daughter, Anne, became an artist, a poetess, and beauty, one of the celebrities of the court of James the Second, and has been immortalized by the great poet of that period. There was another lady of the family, who was famous for learning in the preceding century; but the scholarship of Catherine has not had the good fortune to come under the notice of a Dryden.

Page 123, line 2—"Gondomar."

Ambassador from the court of Spain to Great Britain in the early part of the reign of James I., over whom he gained such influence as to have induced him to permit his son, the Prince of Wales, to take that romantic journey into Spain, which was of so little profit to either party.

Page 123, line 17—"Sir Thomas Edmondes."

The celebrated diplomatist of the two preceding reigns, whose letters and state papers are to be met with in many historical collections. He was born in Plymouth in 1563, and appointed resident at the court of France in 1592. Six years later, he was sent on a mission to the Archduke Albert, of the Netherlands, to whom he was again sent ambassador in 1604. He went also in the same capacity to France on two other occasions, and filled several important appointments at home. He died in 1639.

Page 125, line 34—"Earl of Bridgewater."

Son of Lord Chancellor Egerton, Baron Ellesmere.

Page 152, line 14—"John Selden."

He was born December 16, 1584, at Sabington, in Sussex, and was educated for the law, in which profession he practised as chamber counsel, but mostly employed himself in the production of works of a legal and historical character. He was member for Oxford, and a zealous friend of the people. In 1643, he received the appointment from Parliament of keeper of the Tower Records, and held some other employments during the Protectorate. He died November 30, 1654, and his fine library was added to the Bodleian Collection.

Page 162, line 2 from bottom—"Lord Colerain."

Hugh Hare, created Baron Coleraine by Charles I., August 30, 1625.

Page 164, line 7 from bottom—"My Lord of Sussex."

Robert Ratcliffe, sixth Lord Fitzwalter and fifth Earl of Sussex. He was with Essex in the sack of Cadiz, and was made a Knight of the Garter in 1621. He died in 1629.

Page 172, line 7 from bottom—"The Earl of Bolinbroke."

Oliver St. John, created Earl of Bolinbroke, December 28, 1624. He died in 1646.

Page 172, line 6 from bottom—"Lord Stanhope."

Charles, second Baron. Soon after this date (November, 1626), he went abroad, and there died, in the year 1677.

Page 180, line 6—"Gerbier."

Better known as Sir Balthazar Gerbier. He united the professions of miniature painter, architect, and diplomatist, author and political agent: in some, perhaps all, of which capacities, he was employed by Charles I., the Duke of Buckingham, and Lord Craven. He subsequently went to Surinam, but returned to England after the Restoration, and died in 1667.

Page 200, line 8—"Sir Nathaniel Barnardiston."

He was five times knight of the shire for Suffolk, and is ancestor of the Barnardistons, of the Ryes, Sudbury.

Page 204, line 13 from bottom—"Lord Rochfort."

Henry Carey, fourth Baron Hunsdon, created on the 6th of June, 1621, Viscount Rochfort, and, on the 8th of May, 1627, Earl of Dover. He died in 1668.

Page 206, line 6—"The good Countess of Derby."

Elizabeth, wife of William, sixth Earl.

Page 207, line 17—"Lord Maynard."

Sir William, created Lord Maynard, of Wicklow, in Ireland, in May, 1620, and Baron Maynard, of Easton, Essex, in March, 1628. He died, December 18, 1639. His lordship is ancestor of the present Viscount Maynard, of Easton Lodge and Shern Hall.

Page 209, line 8 from bottom—"Viscount Falkland."

Sir Henry Carey, created Viscount Falkland, in the Scottish Peerage, November 10, 1620, and appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland in 1622, which post he filled for

seven years. He possessed some literary talent, and wrote a life of Edward II. He died in 1633. His eldest son, Lucius, the second Viscount, was the celebrated Royalist, who died of wounds received in the fight at Newberry, September 20, 1643.

Page 224, line 6—"The Earl of Northumberland."

Henry, ninth Earl, who had been imprisoned in the Tower for supposed participation in the Gunpowder Plot. He died on its anniversary, 1632.

Page 234, line 5 from bottom—"Sir Thomas Brudenell's eldest son."

Sir Thomas was created a Baronet, June 29, 1611, and raised to the peerage as Baron Brudenell, April 26, 1627, and created Earl of Cardigan, April 20, 1661. He was a determined and zealous Royalist, and died September 16, 1663. His eldest son, Robert, was his successor in his titles. He died July 16, 1703.

Page 236, line 4 from bottom—"Sir Harbottle Grimstone."

He was member for Colchester, and remained one of the champions of the popular cause till the trial of the king, from which period he took no part in public affairs till the Restoration, when he was chosen Speaker of the House of Commons in 1660. He was subsequently a member of the Privy Council, was appointed master of the Rolls, and recorder of Harwich. He died at the advanced age of 82.

Page 241, line 25—"The Earl of Kent."

Henry, eleventh Baron Grey de Ruthen, and eighth Earl of Kent. He died in 1639.

Page 244, line 11 from bottom—"The Duke of Rohan."

Henri, Duc de Rohan, an accomplished soldier and head of the Huguenot party in France. After the failure at Rochelle, he became a soldier of fortune, in the service of foreign states, and died fighting against the Imperialists. He was the author of several works.

Page 246, line 4 from bottom—"Baron Pawlet, of Hinton St. George."

He was grandson of Sir Amias Powlett, of Queen Elizabeth's reign, and became a zealous Royalist. He died March 20, 1649. The Baron is ancestor of the present Earl Powlett.

Page 247, line 10 from bottom—"Lord Harvey."

William Hervey, who deserves to be called one of the heroes of the Armada, having killed Hugh Moncada, the captain of a galleon, whilst boarding. He subsequently distinguished himself, both by sea and land, in the reigns of Elizabeth, James, and Charles; was knighted, created a Baronet in 1620, elevated to the Irish peerage, as Baron Hervey, of Ross, in the county of Wexford, and finally, in 1628, made an English Peer, as Baron Hervey, of Kidbrooke. He died in 1642.

Page 250, line 4 from bottom—"Sir John Hayward."

He wrote lives of several of the English Sovereigns, William I. and II., Henry I. and IV., and Edward VI.; also "On Supremacy in affairs of Religion," and some religious dissertations, "Christ's Prayer on the Cross," "David's Tears," and "The Sanctuary of a Troubled Soul." He was very differently treated by the two sovereigns in whose reigns he flourished. Queen Elizabeth caused him to be imprisoned for some passages in the Life of Henry IV., on hereditary right, and James made him historiographer of Chelsea College.

Page 251, line 1—"Camerarius."

Joachim Camerarius, one of the first scholars of his day in classical literature, who enjoyed the respect of princes and of men of letters, and was not less the friend of the great Emperor Maximilian than of the mild Melancthon. He wrote successfully on a variety of subjects, and died at Leipsic in 1574, leaving a son, Joachim, also a celebrated scholar, but mostly known for his works on Botany. He formed a Botanic Garden at Nuremberg, and purchased the collections of Conrad Gesner. He also assisted in founding a medical college, of which he remained the president till his death, which occurred in 1598.

Page 251, line 14—" My Lord Petre's son."

Sir John Baron Petre had three sons, William, second Baron, John, and Thomas.

Page 255, line 8—" The old Marquis of Huntley and his son."

The first was George, sixth Earl, created, in 1599, Baron of seven different places, Viscount Inverness, Earl of Enzie, and Marquis of Huntley. He died June 16, 1636. The other, George, second Marquis, was beheaded by the Parliament in 1649.

Page 255, line 9—" Roxburgh."

Sir Robert Kerr, Earl of Roxburgh, was Lord Privy Seal. He died June 18, 1650-1.

Page 259, line 11—" Lord Mountjoy."

Mountjoy, Blount Lord Mountjoy, of Mountjoy Fort, created, in 1627, Baron Mountjoy and Earl of Newport, in the English Peerage. He died in 1665.

Page 268, line 1—" Morton."

William, eighth Earl, a Knight of the Garter, and Lord High Treasurer of Scotland. In the Civil War, he made extraordinary sacrifices for the King, advancing very large sums, and disposing of his property to obtain more, for which he received as recompence the islands of Orkney and Zetland. He died in 1648.

Page 270, line 17—" The Earl of Cork."

Richard Boyle, known in history as "the great Earl of Cork." He went to Ireland in the reign of Elizabeth, with such a knowledge of the law as he could obtain whilst a student in the Middle Temple: there he rose into favour and consequence, was knighted, made a member of the Privy Council, and, in 1616, was raised to the peerage as Baron Boyle, of Youghall. In 1620, he was created Viscount Dungarvon and Earl of Cork. He also filled the post of Lord Treasurer in the same kingdom, and died in 1643.

Page 275, line 5 from bottom—" My Lord of Anglesey."

Charles Villiers, second Earl. In 1621, he succeeded his father, who was the younger brother of Villiers, Duke of Buckingham. He died in 1659.

Page 284, line 10—" My Lord Westmeath."

Richard, ninth Baron of Delvin. He had been concerned in Tyrone and Tyrconnel's conspiracy in 1607, escaped from custody, and, though proclaimed a traitor, he not only obtained a pardon in the following year, but was created, by James I., Earl of Westmeath, September 4, 1621. He died in 1641.

Page 287, line 4—" Lord Cromwell."

Wingfield, eldest son of Thomas, fourth Baron Cromwell, who was created, in 1625, by Charles I., Viscount Lecale and Earl of Ardglass. The father died in 1653, the son in 1668.

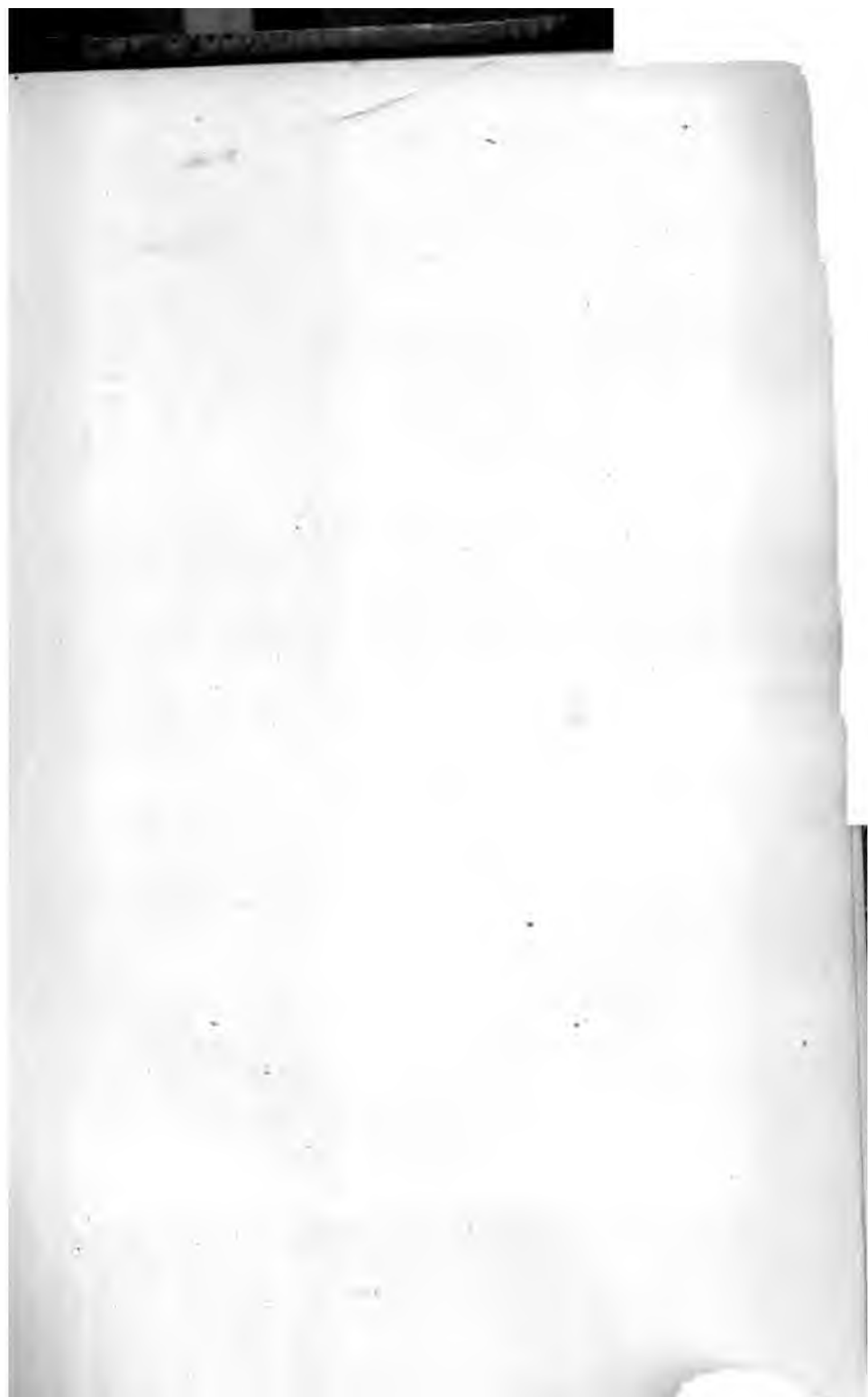
Page 423, line 12 from bottom—" Purchas."

Samuel Purchas, of St. Martin's in Ludgate, and chaplain to Archbishop Abbot. He is mostly remembered by his collection of *Voyages*, in five volumes, folio, entitled, "Purchas his Pilgrimages, or Relations of the World."

Page 423, line 8 from bottom—" Hackluyt."

Richard Hakluyt, a Prebend of Westminster, who published several geographical works, but is best known by his work, in three volumes, folio, entitled, "The Principal Navigations, Voyages, and Discoveries of the English Nation, made by Sea or Overland, within the compass of these 1500 years." The papers he left at his death, in 1616, were very useful to Purchas.

END OF VOL. I.



Germaine

Ellen

Janet

Jesse Canine

Ruth

Mary Adams

Eliz. James Gerard -

Ruth Helms



Prize of Lot '83 - early '33 -

Germaine

Elmore

Janet

Jesse Cannon

Ruth

Mary Adams

Eliz. Jewel Gerard -

Ruth Hilderson





